

Blackburne

A  
NEW MARTYROLOGY:  
OR, THE  
**Bloody Assizes:**

NOW  
Exactly Methodized in one Volume.

Comprehending  
A Compleat History of the *Lives, Actions,*  
*Trials, Sufferings, Dying Speeches,*  
*Letters, and Prayers* of all those

**Eminent Martyrs**

Who fell in the  
West of ENGLAND,  
And elsewhere,  
From the Year 1678. to 1689.

With the Pictures of several of the most Eminent  
of them in Copper Plates.

To this Treatise is added, The Life and Death  
of George Lord Jeffries.

*The Third Edition with large Additions.*

L O N D O N,

Printed (according to the Original Copies) by  
John Dunton at the Black Raven in the  
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William Hawkins. 1690. 12 L 6



William Pope  
his book - 1703

March 28:th

A

# Job Lousley's Book

Blewberry Berks 1823

To the Memory of those Worthy Protestants  
who Suffer'd in the West and elsewhere, from  
the Year 1678. to 1689.

Since that free Agent who conducts the World,  
His Wheels of Providence has backward whirl'd;  
And by the Turn-Men to their Senses brings,  
To loath their Idol-Priests, and Idol-Kings,  
(Finding a Popish promise proves all one  
From an Ignatian Chair and from a Throne,)  
Since over-indulgent Heaven has been so kind  
To op'n our Eyes by Miracles, we find  
All men admiring they've so long been blind;  
Surpriz'd they should so long their Friends oppose,  
And with a credulous trust carefs their Foes.  
Amidst the numerous Wonders of the time,  
'Tis no small Wonder (not to say a Crime)  
We reverence no more their memory,  
Who for their Countries Welfare dar'd to die;  
Whose quarter'd Limbs imbru'd with Native Gore;  
Still cry for Vengeance on the Western Shore.

Why should we with ignoble triumph tread  
Upon the silent Ashes of the dead?  
And with insulting Feet their dust profane,  
Whose free-born Souls spurn at a slavish Chain;  
Souls (not so senseless, so supine as ours)  
That early saw the drift of Romish Powers,  
Early disdain'd those Toaks with generous scorn,  
Which our more servile Necks have tamely born;  
That saw the hovering storm approach from far,  
Threatning a thousand mischiefs (worse than War)  
And boldly rush'd upon th' impetuous Waves,  
Rather to die like Men than live like Slaves;  
To save their Native Country bravely try'd,  
Fail'd in th' attempt, and then as bravely dy'd.

In vain would envious Clouds their Fame obscure,  
Which to eternal Ages must endure.  
In vain do virulent Tongues attempt to stain  
The Solid Glory noble Patriots gain.

If ill designs some to the Battel drew,  
 'Tis Impious to condemn all for a few:  
 If fawning Traytors in their Councils sate,  
 'Tis base to mock, rather lament their Fate:  
 Tho God (for England's sins) refus'd to bless  
 Their brave designs with the desir'd success:  
 'Tis an unequal brutish Argument  
 Always to judge the Cause by the Event;  
 Thus the unthinking giddy Multitude  
 A suffering Jesus Criminal conclude.

Well, 'tis enough, Heav'n now crowns with applause,  
 And gives protection to that righteous Cause;  
 Nay, did ordain that Spot to be the Scene  
 Where the Cause dy'd, for't to revive again.  
 Great Nassau favour'd by the Powers above,  
 (Their special care, and their peculiar love,)  
 An Atlas to our sinking State does prove:  
 Auspicious Stars on all his Councils smile,  
 That breath vast Blessings on our joyful Isle.

And now methinks their Names, who of late  
 Fell worthy Martyrs of our bleeding State,  
 Reproach us with Ingratitude, and say,  
 'Is nothing due unto our murther'd Clay?  
 'Unto our murther'd Names is nothing due,  
 'Who sacrific'd both Lives and Names for you?  
 'Does no Tongue daign to move in the defence  
 'Of wounded Honour, and wrong'd Innocence?  
 'If th' All-wise God (tho just) don't yet see good  
 'With swift revenge to appease our crying Blood,  
 'Save us at least from Envy's darker Grave,  
 'And let our Fame a Resurrection have.

Great Souls, too great for our Inferiour Praise!  
 You for your selves the Noblest Trophies raise;  
 Your Dying Words your Monuments become  
 More bright, more lasting than a Marble Tomb;  
 To future Times your Fame shall freshly bloom,  
 And speak aloud till it strike Envy Dumb.

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## THE INTRODUCTION.

**N**Othing can be plainer to any man that is but moderately vers'd in History, than that upon any Turn of Affairs, whoever has won or lost, or whatever Party is uppermost, the great Enemy of Mankind has some way or other advanced his own Interest, and got some plausible Argument for Atheism or Profaneness. And the reason of it is evident, for those who are in the Highest Stations, by a weakness incident to most, we might perhaps say, all of Mankind, are apt immediately to conclude themselves the Beloved of Heaven, and that Providence favours only them, as it did the Jews, to the neglect, if not detriment of the rest of the World. But no sooner is the Wheel turn'd; and either by the inscrutable Providence of God, or the Wickedness of Men, or their own Mal-administration of Affairs, those who are uppermost thrown out of the Helm, to make room for the next set of Governours; when those who ascend, take the same Notions with their Predecessors; while such as are gotten under, with all whom Interest, or Guilt, or Prejudice more closely united to the former Administration, grow discontented and uneasy; and if their Designs and Expectations are more and more frustrated, more rose and melancholy; The more devout among 'em will be sure to call whoever Suffer in opposition to the established



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establish'd Government, Heroes and Martyrs; and be ever prophesying of some sudden turn, and visible appearance of Heaven to confound their Enemies. But the profane or hypocritical Party, which we may without breach of Charity suppose very large on all sides, very naturally run into the other extrem: They'll fly out into frets and passions; and because God does not think fit to govern the World according to their Minds, impotently pronounce, That there is no God at all, That Religion's a meer Cheat, and Heaven and Hell but Priest-craft and Fable.

But notwithstanding the difference in opinion, and all sides arrogating as much as possible to themselves, there are yet hardly any Men to be found so senselessly sceptical, as to deny the differences of Right and Wrong, Good and Evil. That it hugely alters the Case to consider, whether opposition has been made against a lawful, or unlawful Power; whether the means be legal or no, or the Reasons sufficient to countervail all the mischiefs that may arise from such undertakings: Whether such as do it have any right, or concern to warrant their Actions; whether for or against, in defence or opposition to the Laws of Nature and Nations: Whether those that suffer, meet with their misfortunes in the discharge of their Duty, or opposing others in theirs. Or if the Quarrel be Religion; Whether that Religion on which it is grounded, be a false or a true one. And 'tis from the examination of such particulars as these, whence 'twill appear, whether they are Patriots or Rebels, stubborn Enthusiasts, or holy Martyrs.

Now as oft as the iniquity of the Times encourages Vice, and depresses Vertue; Raises those who are content to be Slaves themselves, so they may but make others

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others so, and trample on others, while they are kick'd themselves ; while it industriously opposes the very sparks of Ingenuity and Liberty, and takes off as fast as possible, either by Clandestine Plots, or open Cruelty, whoever dare be any braver, or better, or honestier than their Neighbours ; while Providence all the while seems to nod, and sit an unconcerned Spectator of the Ravage that's made in the World ; then there's no little danger, lest even those who are truly, though weakly religious and virtuous, should yet be hurried away in the stream of sour and melancholy Thoughts ; be tempted to think with the Royal Prophet, that all things were carried *cæco impetu*, that they have cleansed their Heart in vain ; and be almost ready with him, to condemn the Generation of the righteous.

'Tis a question whether ever any Age in the World gave more advantage and colour for these kind of Thoughts than this last, wherein we have had the sad experience of Debauchery and Villany rampant and triumphant, and to all appearance, most prosperous and happy ; wherein 'twas much more dangerous either to be distinguishingly virtuous, or to forsake Villany, than to continue in one, and laugh at t'other ; when so many of the Flower of our Nobility and Gentry, either lost their Lives or Estates, or Liberties, or Country ; whilst a Crew of Parasites triumphed and flattered in their Ruins. To see a Ruffel die meanly and ignobly in the Flower of his Age ; an Essex or a Godfrey sacrificed to the insatiable ambition and revenge of their Enemies, who yet not content with their Lives, would like the Italian, stab on after Death ; and tho' they could not reach their Souls, endeavour to damn their Memories. These, and too many other such melancholy Instances would be ready to make a short sighted Man

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*exclaim with Hercules in the Tragædian, That Vertue is but an empty Name, or at least could only serve to make its Owners more sensibly unhappy.*

*But altho' such Examples might a little work on a weaker Vertue; that which is more confirmed and solid can more easily resist it: 'Tis not impatient nor unease, but still believes that Heaven is awake, that the Iron Hands of Justice will at length overtake the Offenders, and by their destruction vindicate the Honour and Innocence of those whom they have ruin'd. It considers any Riddles in Providence as a curious piece of Opticks, which, if judged of either before 'tis finished, or by piece-meal, here an Eye, and there another distort'd Feature, appears not only unpleasing, but really dreadful; which yet if viewed when 'tis compleat, and taking all the Features together, makes a Figure sufficiently regular and lovely.*

*Who almost could have imagin'd, without some such Reflections as these, that those brave Men we have seen for some years past pick'd out, and cut off one after another with as much Scandal and Obloquy as cou'd be thrown upon 'em by the ungenerous Malice of their Enemies; when the very attempt to clear their Reputation has been made almost Capital, and involved those who had courage enough to attempt it in little less mischief than what they themselves endured: That ever these Phoenixes should rise again, and flourish in their Ashes! That so many great Pens should already have done some of 'em Justice, and the World as much to all the rest! And with how much more Joy, if 'twere possible, would those Heroes have received their Crowns, could they have foreseen their Deaths won'd have tended so far to work up the Nation to such a just resentment, as won'd at last have so great an Influence, as we find it had, on our late glorious Deliverance.*

*But*

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But since we have yet no form'd History of all those who have suffer'd under the Cruelty and Injustice, not to use so harsh a word as Tyranny, of late years; since such a design may be of no little use, both to show what our former Discords have cost us, and to vindicate the memories of the Sufferers, as well from the malice of their Enemies, as hasty kindness of their Friends: and besides, to leave Posterity so many great Examples of those who prefer'd their Liberty and Religion before all else that was dear in the World; and because they could not live Free, dy'd so. For such Reasons as these this Work is undertaken, which, if it deserves the acceptance of the Reader, no doubt will find it; there being few good Books written which have not been favourably received in the World.

If any be so weak to object, that the Subjects of this History are ill match'd, some of 'em being of one Communion, and some of another: It might be enough to send 'em to FOX's Martyrology for an Answer (tho' some few years since 'tis granted this Objection wou'd have look'd more dreadful) where they may find Hooper and Ridley differing in their Opinions, but yet agreeing at the Stake, and accordingly ranged by that great Man in the same noble Army.

The Kindness and Gratitude of the Courts of England and Rome made no distinction between 'em; nay, not so much as to eat either of them last, but as occasion serv'd, took one or t'other. Fas est & ab hoste—and since they made no difference in their Deaths, altho they endeavour'd it as much as possible in their Lives; since there's no doubt there's none betwixt 'em now, but they all agree in Heaven. I see no Reason why any Party should envy the other that Glory, which for suffering in the same Cause, they so equally deserve.

There



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*There has been formerly some Discourse about Town of a weak or malicious Design a-foot, to publish an History of Persecutions, and charge it on one particular Party of Protestants: But as such a thing wou'd be most pernicious to the Common Cause, so God knows, if it should go round, it would be endless. This design is quite contrary, as 'tis hoped its effects will be. 'Tis to lay the Fault where it ought to be, and make those Friends, who have been too long impos'd upon, almost to each others Ruine.*

*Others may be offended with the Title of Martyrs and Martyrdom, which so often occurs in the following Papers; both because some of those concerned were accused for Plots against the Government, and others were in actual Arms. But 'tis possible for a Person at the same time to be a Church and State Martyr. Naboth's accusation was for speaking blasphemous Words against God and the King. The Apostles of our Saviour, and the Christians afterwards, were accused as those who turned the World upside down, and Enemies of the Empire. These Answers, 'tis own'd, may be accomodated to any Party, being general things; but in the Body of the Discourse we hope to fix 'em, and to prove in particular of the Persons mention'd, that they deserv'd that great Name, both on account of the Cause, and their dying so unjustly, many ways, from the Perjury of their Accusers, or the Inequality of their Judges, or corruption of Juries; and that really because they would not yield themselves, but made a vigorous opposition against Popery and Slavery. For the Western Martyrs, we intend a distinct account of 'em at the beginning of those Transactions.*

*One thing more that may choak such as have a mind to quarrel, is the particular faults, and in some, or*

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at least one Instance, vicious habits, and ill Life of those whom we give that high Character. But if little Failures, if Heats and Weaknesses were any valuable Objection against the Worth or Honesty of a Person, 'twould be impossible to make any tolerable defence even for many of those great Men, who were the happy Instruments of our Reformation: Tho' it may seem an excuse dull and common, yet there's none who does not find it necessary on his own account; That allowances are to be made for the best of Men. Cranmer and the rest of our Reformers, as the Learned Dr. Burnet observes in his Letter to Mr. Thevenot: Tho' we piously believe 'em Saints and Martyrs, yet never pretended to be infallible: They were Men, and so were these, tho' they suffer'd for the same Causes, and almost in the same manner. For such as liv'd ill, if there is more than one instance, this certainly will be sufficient, that they dy'd well, and gave all the tokens of a hearty repentance for their not having liv'd up to so good a Profession.

Let us then do 'em Justice now they are dead, who so nobly defended the Cause of our holy Religion while they were living, and at last so freely and joyfully at their Death, seal'd it with their dearest Blood. If in any accounts met with here, some Persons shou'd find some particular Words or Phrases not so usual with 'em, let 'em not be so weak or unjust to condemn them as Cant or Nonsense. What reason is there why every Man should not express himself in that way which likes him best, and with which he has been more acquainted? And what matters it, if I'm discours'd to in Yorkshire or London Dialect, so I talk with an honest Man, and our Sentiments agree, tho' our words may a little differ? Especially, when as before

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was remark'd, all of 'em suffer'd for the same Cause, and with this considerable Circumstance, that the first, and some of the last Victims of Popish Cruelty were entirely agreeable in their Judgments as to the manners and merits of their Death. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who begins the Rubrick, having notoriously declared some days before his Death, That he believed in his Conscience he should be the first Martyr: and some of those who went last to Glory, as will appear below, mentioning this as one of their greatest Comforts, that they should in after Ages be enrolled among the rest of the Protestant Martyrs.

## Advertisement.

To make the Book Pleasant as well as Profitable, there are inserted some Poems and Elegies made by an ingenious Person, who was particularly acquainted with many of those who are the Subjects of 'em.

A  
 NEW MARTYROLOGY:  
 OR, THE  
**Bloody Assizes, &c.**

*Sir Edmond-Bury Godfrey.*

**H**AD the Person who wrote that Scandalous Libel upon Sir E. B. G. which he calls *The Mystery of his Death*, but always confin'd himself to as much Truth and Reason as we meet with in the very first Lines of his Preface to it, he might have gone both through the World, and out of it with more Reputation than now he is like to do— [*There will (saith he) be a time when Truth shall be believed, and the Witnesses of it justified.*] But notwithstanding all his boasted Sagacity in winding Alterations at such a distance, we may safely affirm, that when he writ that Sentence, he little thought 'twould ever have been apply'd in this manner—  
*That Truth wou'd come to life again after all the*



the Care he had taken to stifle it, and the highest Judicatures in the Nation in one day remove all the black dirt which so many years he had been throwing on its *Witnesses*, and in so publick and authentick a manner *justify* 'em again. 'Twas in the heat of those Mischiefs and Miseries which all thinking men cou'd long before easily foresee wou'd be the Consequences of such Notions as he broached, and were too greedily swallow'd, that he publish'd the Book before mention'd, at such a time when he knew 'twas in one sense *unanswerable*, wherein he pretends both to confound all the Evidence given in before the Parliament, and Publick Courts of Justice for Sir *Edmond's* being murther'd by the Papists; and over and above——That he was a Self-murtherer——No better then a second running him through with his own Sword after his Death. 'Tis some plausible insinuations he has there heapt together which will make it necessary to be a little larger on him than those who come after; especially since he led the way both to the Sufferings of the Protestants, and Malice of their Enemies.

Sir *Edmond-Bury Godfrey* was born of a good Family; his Relations are sufficiently known, and as justly respected in the City of *London*: But 'tis not the intention of this Piece to write the Lives, but the Deaths of those who are the Subjects of it; at least no more of one than is requisite for describing the other.—The occasion of his Knight-hood is reported to be the good Service he did in giving Directions for quenching a Fire which happen'd some years past at *St. James's*; which Honour the then Duke of *York* obtain'd  
for

for him, having been under a great Consternation at the apprehension of the danger. This very probably might be the beginning of his so great *Intimacy* with the Papists, which Sir Roger so often hints in his History, and which afterwards cost him so dearly.

He was a Person of known Vertues—For the Instances of his *secret Charity* the World is oblig'd to that Reverend and Learned Person who preach'd his Funeral Sermon. For his *Piety* and *Integrity*, even his worst Enemy here gives us several Instances thereof; that particularly, when after those Prophetick bodings of his approaching Martyrdom, he took care to settle all things, and adjust Accompts exactly, and even in Parish Matters to right such as he thought had formerly been injur'd. Lastly, how vigilant and careful he was in the Execution of that Office the Law had intrusted him with, his Death, as well as his Life may testifie.— One thing cannot, without great Injury to his Memory, be omitted— 'Tis his extraordinary Conduct and Courage in the time of the Plague in this City, whence he never stir'd all the while it rag'd so dreadfully; but reliev'd the Poor, and fed them daily with his own hands: Nor did he neglect Justice while he was exercising Mercy, but to the amazement, and almost terrour of the Beholders, pursu'd a Malefactor, who had taken Sanctuary in a Pesthouse, thinking none wou'd be so desperate as to follow him, and with his own hands fetch'd him thence, when the other Officers dar'd not venture after him.

'Twas either his Acquaintance among the Papists, before intimated, and hence his being consequently

frequently better known by those who were of that Party, or his industry and indefatigable care in the Discharge of his Office, or both, to which we may rationally attribute the addressing of the first Discovery of the Popish Plot to him, rather than any other.

The clearest Method for the Description of his Martyrdom, will be first to enquire into the Occasion of it, and then the Manner, Circumstances, and Authors ; and lastly the several Endeavours have been used to clear the Papists of that indelible Guilt which sticks upon 'em from so horrid a Villany.

For the Occasion of his Martyrdom, what was said in the Summing up the Evidence concerning him, but modestly and on supposition only, we may yet venture to affirm positively—*This Protestant Magistrate was certainly murder'd—because he was a Protestant.*

But the particular and special Reasons were these following:

1. He had taken Examinations about the Popish Plot, and those not only (as the Attorney General said in the Trial of the Assassines) *perhaps*, but *undoubtedly* more than are now extant. Mr. Oates addressed himself to him with his Depositions—he had taken them, and enquired something closely into the Design, as his manner was in any thing which belong'd to his Office. This the Papists very well knew, and therefore found it convenient to be rid of a troublesome busie man, who, now he was engaged in the business, was likely to pierce to the bottom on't—and he being once out of the way, the Evidence might very easily have

have been dispos'd of to their satisfaction.

But here those, whose Interest 'tis to get clear of such a Charge, object very pertly — *What need, or what advantage in taking off a Justice, when the same things were deposted in other places?*

2. The second Reason or Occasion for this Murder will easily answer that Objection. They not only bore him Malice for what he had already done in *Oates's* case, and might probably be ignorant of those secret Passages transacted before King and Council in relation to *Oates's* Depositions — but were sensible of a deeper Reason than all this, and which brought them into more danger than the other.

See it in the *Lord Stafford's* Trial, p. 22. and 24. Mr. *Dugdale* had received a Letter the very night on which this Gentleman was martyr'd (of which more anon) with these words in't — [*This Night Sir E.B.G. is dispatch'd.*] — This came from the Papists to *Ewers* a Popish Priest at my Lord *Aston's*, who after he had read it communicated the good News to Mr. *Dugdale*, telling him *One of their Enemies was taken out of the way.* — He being desirous to know how things went, ask'd *what was the Reason they took away his Life?* *Ewers* tells him — *There was a Message sent to Mr. Coleman, when in Newgate, to desire him that he wou'd not reveal any thing of the Plot; which Message came from the Duke of York.* — To which *Coleman* replied — *What was he the nearer — for he had been so foolish as to reveal all to Sir E.B.G. already?* But upon the Examination of *Oates* before Sir E.B.G. he was afraid he would come in as Evidence against him, having shewn himself eager in the business. — To which



the Duke of York sent word again, — *If he won'd take care not to reveal, but conceal it, Sir E. B. G. shou'd not come in against him.* — And the next news was — that he was *dispatch'd.*

Now this effectually takes off the former Cavil; — and this Sir Roger cou'd not but be sensible of; and concluding so unanswerably against what he built so much upon, e'ne lets it fairly drop, and mentions not a syllable of it in all his Book — Which Evidence of Mr. *Dugdales* is beyond contradiction confirm'd by several hints unluckily given in Sir Roger's own Depositions — *pag. 187.* where Mr. *Wynnel* deposes Sir *E.* told him — *Coleman* *wou'd dye* — and mention'd *Consults about a Toleration* — Adding further — *That he was Master of a dangerous secret that wou'd be fatal to him.* — Hence nothing can be plainer to any reasonable man, then that Sir *Edmond* was acquainted with Mr. *Coleman* as well as Dr. *Oates*, and knew even the *minute Circumstances* in those Letters which afterwards were brought against him, and stood in fear of his Life for that very Reason, as for the same he afterwards lost it.

For the *Manner* of his Death, those who were Accomplices therein shou'd best know it; and the Objections against their Evidence the Reader may find clear'd if he'll take the pains to look a little lower. — After the poor Gentleman had several days been dog'd by the Papists, as Dr. *Oates*, Mr. *Prance*, and Mr. *Bedlow* unanimously swear, and which he as good as acknowledged to Mr. *Robinson*, as appears on the Trial of his Murtherers, they at last accomplish'd their wicked design on *Saturday, Octob. 12. 1678.* and under a pretence  
of

of a Quarrel, which they knew his Care for the publick Peace wou'd oblige him to prevent, about Nine at night, as he was going home, got him into the *Water-gate* at *Somerset-House*. When he was thus trapan'd in, and got out of hearing from the Street, toward the lower end of the Yard, *Green*, one of the Assassines, threw a twisted *Handkerchief* round his Neck, and drew him behind the Rails,—which, notwithstanding his age and weakness, are objected against its probability; taking him thus at a surprize, and in the dark, 'twas easie for him to do, especially three or four more of 'em immediately falling in to assist him, there they throtled him; and lest that shou'd not be enough, punch'd and kickt him on the Breast, as sufficiently appear'd when his Body was found, by the marks upon it; and lest he shou'd not be yet dead enough, another of 'em, *Girald*, or as I find him called in other places, *Fitz-Girald*, wou'd have run him through, but was hindred by the rest, lest the Blood shou'd have discover'd 'em: But *Green*, to make sure work, wrung his Neck round, as 'twas found afterwards on the inspection of the Surgeons.

For the disposal of the Body, they all carried it up into a little Chamber of *Hills*, another of the Murtherers, who had been, or was Dr. *Godwin*'s man, where it lay till *Monday* night, when they remov'd it into another Room, and thence back again 'till *Wednesday*, when they carried him out in a Sedan about Twelve a clock, and afterwards upon a Horse, with *Hill* behind him, to support him, till they got to *Primrose-Hill*, or as some say 'tis call'd, *Green-Bury-Hill*, near a Publick House,

House, call'd the *White-house*, and there threw him into a Ditch, with his Gloves and Cane on the Bank near him, and his own Sword run through him, on purpose to perswade the world he had kill'd himself. Very politickly making choice of a place to lay him where they might both think he wou'd be sometime conceal'd, and near where he had been seen walking the same day, if the Affidavits to this purpose in Sir R's Book may be reposed upon.

All this Mr. *Prance* swears upon the Trial of his Murtherers, with whom he acknowledges he had several Consults before at the *Plow Alehouse*, and other places, concerning it. Whose Evidence is confirm'd, not only by innumerable other Circumstances, but Mr. *Bedlow's* Confession, who was to have been present at the Action, had not Remorse of Conscience hinder'd him, having been engag'd by the Conspirators for a great Reward, and was afterwards to have a considerable part of it for carrying off the Body, which he swears he saw in the very Room whither *Prance* says 'twas remov'd on the *Monday* night.——But even here too he fail'd 'em—— So 'twas done without his Assistance in the manner before described.

And very sure, no doubt, the great Plotters thought they had now made their Business: for we are not to fancy these little Villains attempted such an Action of their own impulse; the great Spring we had before in *Dugdales* Story of *Coleman*, from whence those large Sums must proceed which *Bedlow* mentions. Now, I say, they thought the Business was as sure as the Jews had made the Sepulchre—— having seal'd all the mouths

mouths of the Parties concern'd, with Oaths and Sacraments, Solemnities commonly abus'd by their Party to the foulest Villanies.— But neither that, nor the darkness of the night, nor the distance of places, cou'd hinder the Divine Justice from looking through and discovering the Villains concern'd, and bringing 'em to Punishments worthy their Wickedness.— The manner thus, —His Body being found by some who accidentally walk'd that way, and generally suspected from his former discourses, and many probabilities, that he was murder'd by the Papists, the King issued out a Proclamation with a promise of Indempnity and 500 l. reward to any who wou'd discover it. On this Mr. *Bedlow* writ a Letter to the Secretary from the Country, concerning his Knowledge of something considerable in that matter ; and being sent for up to Town, reveal'd whate're he knew of the Business. And a little after, *Prance* being accidentally seiz'd by a Constable, and then in the House of Lords *Lobby*, was known by Mr. *Bedlow*, having seen his Face on that *Monday* night, when at the same time they saw the Body ; —who on Examination discover'd also what his share was in the Murther : And tho' he afterwards denied it, for fear of losing his Trade, and such other Motives, as he himself confest, yet in a quarter of an hour he returned again to his first Evidence.

But the most difficult Task will be what yet remains—the clearing those Objections, and some of 'em plausible ones, and which have led away too many well-meaning men, against the Truth of this recited Evidence ; as well as some Insinuations spread abroad, and made the most of to

perswade the World this worthy Gentleman was guilty of his own Death.

But here it can't be expected that a private Person, who has not the advantages of Sir *Roger*, to have Warrants from two K's, and all Persons and Papers before him relating to that Business, and who had Wit great, and Honesty little enough to pick out, and leave in what was for his turn; that such an one shou'd be able to go through so many hundred pages as his Book consists of, and answer every Particular therein. 'Twill be satisfaction enough to any rational man, to touch some of the Plots and Fetches made use of from one time to another to wash the Blackamoor white, and clear the Papists from this Villany: To answer the main Objections against the Evidence, and bring some corroborating Circumstances for the truth on't. And lastly, To shew Sir *Edmond* cou'd not murther himself in that place and manner as is pretended.

The first of the Methods they used to sham off this Murther, was by early Reports they spread about, even before his Body was found, That he had *kill'd himself*. Now this Sir *Roger* himself can scarce have Brow enough to affirm was done by the Brothers to save the Estate; since 'twas a very odd way certainly to do that, by letting the World openly know that he was a Self-murtherer. That such Reports were spread we shall by and by prove, and that from Sir *Roger's* own Book, without the trouble of consulting the Paper-Office,—and who got by't, who shou'd do't, whose Interest was't to do't but the Papists, altho' the particular Authors may be unknown?

Among



Among the many Evidences of his Death being known at so many distant places before 'twas publick here, there are two come up exactly to the matter in hand. The first—which was recited by the Reverend Dean of *Bangor*, now Bishop of *St. Asaph*, in his Funeral Sermon, and which it seems he had of one Mr. *Angus*—who the same day Sir *Edmond* was found about Five a clock on *Primrose-Hill*, being in Mr. *Chiswell's* Shop in *St. Paul's* Church-yard about One or Two, there was a Person unknown to him past by, and clapping him on the shoulder, ask'd him [*If he heard the News that Sir E.B.G. was found dead, with his own Sword run through him.*]

The second is of Mr. *Goldsborough*, Clerk of the House of Commons, who being in a Barber's Shop on *Tuesday* morning, while he was missing, a person came in open-mouth'd [*That Sir E. B. G. was found;*] and being ask'd where, reply'd, [*He had kill'd himself upon Primrose-Hill;*] where, upon *Thursday* following in the evening the Body was indeed discover'd.

The second considerable Attempt made the same way, was by one *Magrath* an Irishman, the famous *Celiers*, who foretold both the Prince of *Wales*, and a great many more after him; the *Jesuits* in *Newgate*, and others, who pretended to prove Sir *E. B. G.* hang'd himself, and his Clerk *Moor* cut him down.—But being examin'd at the Council-Board, it prov'd only a malicious and false Contrivance.

'Twill be very well worth the while, to remark that Mrs. *Mary Gibbons* was one of the persons deeply engaged in this design among so much

other good Company; and that Mrs. *Mary Gibbons* is one of the main Evidences Sir Roger makes use of in his Book.——Tho' this Sham was then so thin laid, and this person so well known, that even *Farewell* and *Pain* were asham'd to make use of either in their Letters to *Prance* on this Subject, but protest very solemnly, *That none of those, neither Celiers, the Newgate Priests, nor Mrs. Mary Gibbons, or other Papists, or popishly affected, knew any thing of the matter, but were all Strangers to it.*

When this Contrivance was found out by all the World to be as very a Sham as *Celiers* being with Child in *Newgate*, or some Body else in another place, yet was not the indefatigable Zeal of that Party discouraged; but Mr. *Farewell*, a person intrusted in managing the Estates and Lands of the Jesuits; and *Pain*, Brother to the famous *Pain* who wrote *St. Coleman's Elegy*, set a new Project on foot to the same purpose in some Letters sent to *Prance*, and printed by *N. Thomson*; which indeed, if we look close into 'em, will appear to be Sir Roger in little, there being the self same Expressions in one as the t'other, and his Mystery seeming to be hardly more than their Letters spread a little thinner.——*The Blood gubling out of the Wound,*——*Bedlow and Prances East and West Contradictions,*——*The Wax dropt on his Clothes after he was found,* and several other things the self same in both of 'em. And I remember, at that very time 'twas shrewdly suspected and rumour'd about Town, that the same person lay behind the Curtain, and thrust their Cats-feet into the Fire, who has since appear'd publicly in prosecution of the same Cause.

Before their Trial they reckon'd their Witnesses by the hundred, pretending to make his Self-murder as clear as the Sun. When they came to it, and had all the fair Play imaginable, *Pain's* heart fail'd him, and he pleaded *Guilty*.— *Farewell* made so poor a Defence, and the Matter was so clearly prov'd against 'em, that *Farewell* and *Thomson* were both fined by the Court, and sentenced to stand in the Pillory, with this Inscription over them, [*For Libelling the Justice of the Nation, by making the World believe that Sir E. B. G. murder'd himself.*] Where how abundantly they were honour'd by the Spectators, all who know any thing of the Story can't but remember.

Thus it lay for some time, and no person was so hardy to make any further Attempts that way while there was any possibility of having Justice against 'em: But when the Sheriffs, Juries, nay King and all were *chang'd*; when that past which poor *Oates* and all the World have cause to remember; when, if *Prance* wou'd not *unconfess*, he knew he must tread the same *dolorous way* that *Oates* had gone before him, and had now done all that cou'd be desired; Then Sir Roger took up the Cudgels, and publish'd his Book, call'd, [*The Mystery of Sir E. B. G's Death unfolded*;] Or, which wou'd have been a fitter Title, [*The second Edition with Additions of Farewell and Pain's Letters.*] The main of what he advances there, will be answer'd in clearing, as was propos'd, the Objections against the Evidence relating to that matter.

If the ill Character of the persons who gave it, be urg'd to invalidate their Testimony, as this does not reach all of 'em, so it has been often answer'd—

answer'd, — *Who but such were fit for such Villanies?* If their seeming Disagreement in some part of their Evidence, what greater Argument that 'twas no Combination? If *Prance* retracted — we are told by Sir Roger himself, *That he was a white-liver'd Man*, and so might be frighted out of truth as well as into it. And indeed, on that very reason 'twas long before suspected, that if he shou'd ever be bore hard upon, he wou'd not be able to stand it.

[*But the Papists wou'd never kill him, because he had oblig'd 'em.*] — As if Gratitude were a Popish Vertue, or Charity, any more than Faith were to be kept with Hereticks: Those that think so, let 'em look back, and see if the last Reign be enough to convince 'em.

It may be urg'd on, Here are several Testimonies in the Trial of the Murtherers, and since, that invalidate the Evidence there given, — *Warner* and his Wife and Maid about *Green* — *That he was at home all that Evening when he was accused for committing it.* — Twou'd be enough to oppose to this their Confession to Captain *Richardson* — *That they cou'd do him no good.* — But besides this, Mr. Justice *Dolben's* Observation on the Trial clears it effectually — *They swore to the Saturday fortnight after Michaelmas day, which was, says the Justice, the 19th of Octob. not the 12th on which the Murther was committed.*

— If *Broadstreet* and others testifie they were in the Room where the Body was laid, and *Hills* Wife so rubs up her Memory, that after so many years she remembers what she cou'd not upon his Trial — *That she, and he, and their Child lay in*  
*the*

the Room all that very time when the Body was said to be there.—— Twou'd not be a shift, but an Answer—— That they were Papists that swore it, who can swear any thing. But besides, Broadstreet acknowledged before the Duke of Monmouth, That Hill was gone from his Lodgings before this time, as was prov'd on the Trial. Mrs. Tilden says, There was but one Key to their Door. Mrs. Broadstreet at the same time, with what she own'd about Hill, That there were six or seven —— Contradictions in others, wee see, as well as the King's Evidence; and these being much homer, and more irreconcilable than theirs, must of necessity destroy the belief of what else they testify.

But the home thrust is—— [The Centinels saw no Sedan carried out —— ] This the printed Trial easily sets right. The Centinels were Trollop and Wright. Trollop staid till Ten, and saw a Sedan go in, but none out again: Wright till one, but saw none go out. It must be in Trollops time, being, as Prance says, about Twelve.—— The Centinels being then at Bury's Lodge, smoking and drinking. Trollop says on the Trial, he was never at the Lodge, but so does not Wright, as any one may see by consulting it, he being never ask'd the Question.

'Twill give a great Light into this Deed of Darknes in the next place, to consider several Circumstantial Evidences, which wou'd, of themselves, go very far to prove that Sir E. B. G. was murther'd by the Papists, and that in the very place and manner which has been already described,



o The first of these from Sir *Edmond*'s own mouth, which has been already hinted, but, shall here be further clear'd.

- 'Twas indeed so notorious, that Sir *E.B.G.* had boding thoughts, and a sort of a Prophetical Intimation of his Death, and that by the Papists; and discours'd of so publickly and generally, that Sir *Roger* cou'd not deny all the Matter of Fact, but endeavours to avoid the force on't; when he says, as is witness'd by several— [*On my Conscience I shall be the first Martyr—*] This he interprets— [*I doubt I shan't live long.*]— Sure, though he says in one place, *The Man was no Fool*; yet he must be supposed to be no better, any more than all the Readers, if neither he nor they made any difference between being hang'd and martyr'd. But the very reason of this Interpretation was for what Sir *R.* dearly loved — that he might have opportunity for a Reflection on the Parliament.— *He fear'd*, says he, *that the Parliament wou'd call him to account, and that nothing wou'd satisfie 'em but his Life for not discovering it sooner.*— In opposition to this, any impartial man need but consider what follows. Squire *Robinson*, on the Trial of the Murderers, witness'd that he had a Discourse with Sir *Edmond* a little while before his Death about the Plot then newly talkt on.— Says *Robinson*— *I wish the depth of the Matter be found out.*— Sir *E.* answers, — *I'm afraid it is not.*— Upon my Conscience I believe I shall be the first Martyr.— He acknowledged he had taken several Examinations about it, but thought he shou'd have little Thanks for his pains. The Squire askt him— *Are you afraid?* [*No*, said he, *I do not fear 'em,* if

if they come fairly; and I shan't part with my Life tamely.] Well, Sir Roger, Is all this the Parliament? was he afraid the Parliament wou'd send a Party to dog him, and set upon him? and that he did not fear the Parliament, but if they came fairly; would not part with his Life tamely?—No; any man that has but half an eye, unless that too blinded with Prejudice, may see the meaning on't; and that he apprehended danger only from the Papists, against whom he had taken several Examinations.

The next is of John Wilson the Sadler, who swears, Sir Edmond talking with one Mr. Harris, then told this Informant, [That he was in danger for what he acted for the Discovering of the late Plot against his Majesty.] See how ingeniously this is answer'd—[His apprehension was from the Parliament, not the Papists; and for Concealing, not Discovering the Plot.] These very words Sir Roger has in his Book, pag. 281. Now whether this is not a direct Statuimus, i. e. Abrogamus; What Sir Edmond calls Discovering, for Sir R. who knows his Mind better, now he's dead, than he himself did while alive, to tell us he means Concealing, which is quite contrary—and how fair a way of answer 'tis, let any of his best Friends be Judges.

Twou'd be tedious to bring any more, when this does effectually as to his own Judgment. Only 'tis remarkable, that these very things are sworn upon the Trial by Mr. Oates,——that Sir E. B. G. had told him——[He had received Affronts from great Persons for being so zealous in the Business]——That he had been threatned——That he  
went

went in fear of his Life from the Popish Party; and that he had been dog'd several days, ——— but fear'd 'em not if they came fairly to work.]

For other Evidences of his Murther by the Papists, that which indeed made the greatest noise, was, his Death being heard of so far off, and in so many different places, before 'twas known in London. This Sir Roger tells us, *was on purpose spread by the Brothers to throw it on the Papists*: But here's this in opposition: *Dugdale*, against whom he makes no objection, but allows his Evidence, makes Oath in my Lord *Stafford's* Trial, and other places, That this News was brought to one *Ewers* a Priest, in a Letter which he shew'd him, dated the very night 'twas done, ——— which had these words in't ——— [*This very night Sir E. B. G. is dispatch'd.*] Now I'd fain ask ——— Had these Brothers Correspondence with the Priest? wou'd they use such a word as that [*Dispatch'd?* —] Did they write to *Ewers* too, and bid him tell *Dugdale*, That this *Sir E. B. G. was a busie man, and fit to be taken out of the way?* ——— as *Dugdale* swears he did. ——— Cou'd *Dugdale* conspire with *Oates* so long before they knew one another, and while he was himself a Prisoner in *Staffordshire*; and were all those perjur'd who witness that Mr. *Dugdale* did report this before it cou'd be known by any but the very Conspirators?

That 'twas done in that very place, at *Somerſet-Houſe*, Providence has left strange Confirmation.

The first is ——— *Bury* the Porter's refusing to admit any persons into the Gates about that time, the 12th, 13th, 14th of October. Nay, that he

he had deny'd the Prince himself admittance, (Prince *Rupert* I suppose it must be) and pretend-  
ed Orders for so doing. But these Orders he ne-  
ver produc'd.—— And more, like a true Papist,  
deny'd Matter of Fact when charg'd with it; and  
tho' he had acknowledg'd to the Council he had  
never such Orders before, when Sir *Thomas Strin-*  
*ger* came to witness it, positively deny'd it.

Two more very remarkable Affidavits there  
are, which give mighty strength to all the former.  
One of *Spence* (Captain *Spence* he's call'd in some  
Copies) and the other of *John Oakley*. *Spence* was  
a tall, black man, much like Sir *E. B. G.* as was  
witnessed by those who knew him; to all which  
Sir *R.* only answers—— *He has been told otherwise.*  
This *Spence* passing by the same Water-gate at  
*Somerset-House* about Seven at night, two days  
before Sir *Edmond's* murther, was drag'd in thi-  
ther, being seiz'd by five or six men —— but one  
of 'em, when they had him in, cry'd out.——  
*This is not he*——on which they immediately let  
him go.—— Here's a plain Evidence of their  
Intentions, and a Confirmation of what *Bedlow*,  
*Oates*, and *Prance* sware of Sir *E's* being dog'd so  
long before.—— All that's answer'd to't is,——  
*That there was a Suit of Law depending between this*  
*Spence and Mrs. Broadstreet*—— and therefore  
forsooth, he must forswear himself, and wilful-  
ly damn his Soul only for a Circumstantial Evi-  
dence and Reflection on *Hill* himself three or four  
years after he was hang'd, and so on his Master  
*Dr. Godden*, and thence again on *Mrs. Broadstreet*;  
and all this when it had no influence at all on the  
Suit of Law, or them who su'd him.—— But  
enough

enough of this—Let's now take notice of the next—'Tis one *John Okeley*, who that very night, *Octob. 12.* going by *Somerset-House*, at the Water-gate about Nine a Clock, saw there Sir *E. B. G.* whom he knew very well, living in the same Lane with him—he pass'd close by him, pull'd off his Hat to him, as Sir *E. B. G.* did to him again;—when pass'd him, he turn'd about and look'd on him. And this he told to several persons, which witness the same.—To this, the main of what Sir *R.* objects is,——*'Twas dark, and how shou'd he know him?* Certainly any one that knows *London*, can't be ignorant that we have Lights in the streets at Nine at night : and 'twas morally impossible that one who knew him so well, who look'd upon him, who put off his Hat to him, as he to him again, and who after all this look'd back upon him——that such a one shou'd be mistaken in the person.

The last thing to be prov'd is—*That Sir E. B. G. did not, and cou'd not murder himself in that place, as is pretended by his Enemies.* He was first missing on *Saturday*, and therefore according to their account, his Body must have been in the place where 'twas found till that *Thursday* night. But had it been there on *Tuesday* or *Wednesday*, the Pack of Hounds which hunted there, both of those days, must have found him. Sir *Roger* tells us,——*They might have been on t'other side of the Ditch, or beat the place carelessly without finding it.* But Mr. *Fancer's* Deposition is,——*That he beat that very place*—which sure he was capable of knowing, having been himself there to see it after the Body was found. He repeats it, and says twice,——  
'twas



'Twas in *that very place*. And *Harwood* says as much, who hunted the day after. — One Circumstance there is, which makes this Evidence yet more conclusive. 'Twas depos'd in the Trial of *Farewel*, and several other places, that the Body stunk extreamly when 'twas found, which was but the next day after. Now I'd ask any unprejudic'd man, Whether 'twas so much as possible that this very place shou'd be beat two days after one another, and the Hounds not Scent the Body, even tho' the Hunters might perhaps oversee it?

But besides this, there was yet a narrower search made on another occasion in that same Field. The Story is told in a Paper, call'd, *An Account of the Murther*, publish'd by *Thompson* himself, who, with another Printer, was present, and avouch'd the Matter of Fact on their own Knowledge. 'Tis this — *That while the Body lay at the White-house, and the Jury were about it, one of the Jury-men themselves declar'd, — That a servant of his Mother, a Butcher, and two Boys, made a very strict and narrow search in all parts of the Ground for a Calf that was lost there, and this both on Munday and Tuesday — and at that time there lay no dead Body, Belt, Gloves, or any thing else there. — But were all these too on the wrong side of the Hedge? or where did they look for this Calf? in the middle of the Field, or in the Ditches and Hedges? where 'twas impossible they cou'd have mist of the Body, had it been there.*

There's one great Objection which *Sir Roger* makes very much of in this matter — tho' not quite so strong now as 'twas some years since; and that is — *There was no Popish Plot at all, therefore no Po-*

popish murther,—which he expresses in his own peculiar *Merry-Andrew* way —*They hang both upon the same string, and whoever overthrows the one, trips up the heels of the other.* Nor indeed is he singular in his Opinion, as to a great part of it——for my Lord Chief Justice *Pemberton* says, on the Trial of *Farewell* I think 'twas,—*If they cou'd have made it out that he had kill'd himself, all of them wou'd have cried out the Popish Plot was a Sham raised by the Protestants against the Papists, and all the Plot must have gone for nothing.*—— But now to retort the Objection——If there was a Popish Plot, 'tis a terrible Argument that there was too a Popish Murther. But that there was one, we must be forc'd to believe, till we find these things, among many others, answer'd,

1. *Coleman's* Letters——and that Expression——*The Extirpation of this Northern Heresie.*

2. The Letter produc'd in *Harcourt's* Trial, wherein the very Consult of *April 24.* is mention'd,—and *A Design then on foot among 'em, which they were to manage with all imaginable secrecy.*

3. The positive Oaths of so many men. Some of 'em of a fair Character and blameless Conversation; others no more able to invent such a Plot than their Enemies to disprove it.

4. The Endeavours of the Papists to assassinate, disgrace, buy off, or any way divert the Evidence against 'em: which they were not such Fools to do for nothing.

5. The behaviour of the Witnesses ever since. One of 'em testifying at his death, after the Sacrament: Another by his Life, their Malice reaching to his barbarous Murther. A third with his  
Blood,

Blood, and so much as wou'd have perhaps cost any two or three other men their Lives, to the Truth of their Depositions.

And lastly, What Transactions we have felt and seen since the late King came to his Throne, till his departure, are no great Evidence that all that Plot was a Forgery.

From these things 'tis plain there was a Popish Plot: from these, and what went before, that this was a Popish Murther.

There needs no Exaggeration of the Fact, nor Tragical Exclamations. 'Twas as foul as Hell cou'd make it, and perhaps we have not yet seen the full Revenge that Heaven intends for those who were concerned in it; tho' 'tis after so long a time miraculously begun, and will in due time be accomplish'd.

Two *Anagrams* there were made on this brave Gentleman, which for the peculiar luckiness of 'em, it may 'nt be ungrateful to the Reader, to have 'em inserted.

Sir EDMUNDBURY GODFREY.

*Anag.*

I FIND MURDER'D BY ROGUES.

*Another:*

BY ROME's RUDE FINGER DY!

Having thus vindicated the Memory of this great Person, without any mean expectation, either

of Applause or Reward, who was the first Martyr for our holy Protestant Religion; we shall address what has been written on this Subject, not only to Posterity, as Sir Roger very wisely does, where he shall never hear his Fault, but to all the sober unprejudic'd men of the present Age, and so dismiss it, and go on to the rest for whom he only made way, after we have presented you with one of the best pieces of Wit that the Age has yielded on Sir Edmond's death. 'Tis a part of that ingenious Poem, call'd *Bacchanalia*, or, *The Drunken Club*.

*Well Primrose ! may our Godfrey's name on thee  
Like Hyacinth inscribed be !*

*On thee his memory flourish still,  
Sweet as thy flower, and lasting as thy Hill.*

*Whilst blushing Somerset, to her  
Eternal shame, shall this Inscription wear ;  
" The Devil's an Ass, for Jesuits on this Spot  
" Broke both the neck of Godfrey, and the Plot.*

Mr.

## Mr. A R N O L D.

**B**UT tho' the Providence of God was pleas'd, no doubt for wise Reasons, to suffer this last worthy Person to fall a Victim to the Malice and Cruelty of our Popish Enemies; tho' there was perhaps a sort of a sad necessity—that this *one man shou'd dye*, to alarm a stupid Nation, and rouze 'em from that careless believing temper which since that has gone so fair towards their Ruine; and tho' 'twas to cost *England* more and nobler Blood, before it's entire deliverance; yet the Government of the World is not so absolutely given up to the disposal of him who is call'd the *Prince* of it, as that in every Attempt, Villany should be triumphant, and Vertue miserable. However kindly 'twas meant, the Stroak here was not home enough, and Mr. *Arnold* prov'd only a Confessor, tho' they intended him a Martyr. One wou'd have thought their ill Success in taking off one Justice of Peace, shou'd have cool'd their Fury a little, and hinder 'em from venturing upon another.— But this 'tis when men list themselves of a Religion where they must be given up to the Salleys and Transports of a blind Zeal, and refuse the Conduct either of of their Senses or Reason.



Mr. *Arnold* had been a vigorous Prosecutor of the Priests and Jesuits which sculkt about in his own County of *Wales*. This was a crime not to be forgiven, nor any ways attoned by less than his Destruction. In order to which he was assaulted by several Villains, fit for such a business, in a little dark Lane near the *Temple*, as he was passing through it pretty late in the Evening; and had no doubt dispatch'd him; and either found some way to make the World believe he had done it himself, as they wou'd have done in the former instance, or started some other Sham to have remov'd the Odium from their own Party. But the Gentleman, having had apprehension of some such Accident, made better use of it than Sir *Edmond* before him; and having luckily a Sute of private Armour on, received several Stabs the Villains gave him, upon that, and so sav'd his life. But they finding their Attempts that way unsuccessful, were resolv'd to take another course with him, and having got him down, with some desperate weapon or other fit for the purpose, made several Trials to cut his Throat, and gave him some dangerous wounds about that part; which while he was struggling with 'em to preserve, a Boy providentially goes by with a Light, which their Deeds of Darknes not being able to endure, they all ran away, and left Mr. *Arnold* weltering in his Blood, who yet, by God's Providence, recover'd again, and liv'd to see Justice done to one of the Villains that used him in that barbarous manner: His name was *Giles*, and was discover'd by a wound in his Leg, which one of his Accomplices ran through in the scuffle, as he was making

making a Stab at Mr. *Arnold*. He was try'd for the Action, found Guilty of it, and sentenced to stand in the Pillory for the same, which was accordingly executed, with a liberal Contribution over and above from the enraged Rabble, who sufficiently made up for the Gentleness of his Sentence, tho' as Severe a one as our mild Laws could inflict upon such Offenders.

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## Mr. COLLEGE.

**N**O Body can doubt but that 'twas now very much the Interest of the Papists to get off, if possible that foul Imputation of a Plot which stuck so deep upon 'em; which had been confirm'd by Sir *Edmond*'s murder, *Coleman*'s never to be forgotten Letters, *Arnold*'s Assassination, and a great deal of Collateral Evidence, which fell in unexpectedly, many of those who gave it being utterly unacquainted with the first Discoverers. After several unfortunate attempts they had made to this purpose; after the *Living* had perjur'd themselves, and the *Dying* done worse, to support their desperate Cause; after Attempts to *blast* and *ruine* some of the Evidence, and *buy off* others of 'em, in both which, publick Justice took notice of, and punish'd em; being of a Religion that sticks at no Villany to serve an Interest, and certainly the most indefatigable and firm People in the World when they

set about any Design, especially where *Diana* is concern'd, not being yet discouraged, they resolv'd to venture upon one Project more, which prov'd but too successful, to the loss of the bravest and best Blood in the Kingdom; and that was to Brand all those who were the steadiest Patriots, and so their greatest Enemies, of what Rank soever they were, with the odious Character of *Persons disaffected to the Government*, or, in the old Language, *Enemies to Cesar*: They pretended to perswade the World, that after all this great noise of a *Popish Plot*, 'twas only a *Presbyterian* one lay at the bottom: This they had endeavour'd in the *Meal-tub Intrigue*, the Names of most of the worthy Persons in *England* being cull'd out to be sworn into it: But this miscarrying, (like the Mother on't, Mrs. *Celiars* Miscarriage in *Newgate*) they had by this time taken breath, form'd new Designs, and procur'd new Witnesses which might *do business* more effectually, and, tho' they cou'd not write nor spell their Names, and so were not very well skill'd in *Book-learning*, yet at *Buke-blowing* they were admirable; by which Character you may easily guess they were Irish-men. Nor did they want *Fools* to believe, any more than *Knaves* to manage this Design; by their continued unwearied Contrivances a great many *easse*, and some *well-meaning* People having by this time been wrought upon to believe almost as *implicitly* as they themselves, whatever the Priests wou'd have 'em. One thing whatever happen'd, they were pretty sure of, That whether this Plot were believed, or no, they shou'd carry on their Intrigue by it: If 'twas, they had what they wish'd: If it shou'd be

be discovered, twoud yet confound and amuse Peoples minds, and make 'em so sick of Plot upon Plot, that it might make 'em almost stagger in their belief of the other. They had besides all this, a strong Party at Court to favour their Enterprizes. The King was the Duke's, and the Duke—all the World know who's. 'Twas necessary to flesh their Blood-hounds by degrees, to bring People on by little and little, to attempt some of inferior Rank for a beginning, and not split the Cause for want of good management. And who so fit as poor *Colledge* to be the first Victim of their Perjury and Malice; by whose Death, besides being rid of a troublesom Fellow, and breaking the Ice to make room for those to follow; they might also expect this advantage, That the *middle sort* of People wou'd be discourag'd in their just hatred of Popery and Papists, and prosecution of the Laws against them.

'Twas by such Methods as these that Mr. *Colledge* began to signalize himself in the World. Being a Man of Courage, Industry, and Sharpness, he made it much of his Business to serve his Country, as far as possible, in searching after Priests and Jesuits, and hunting those Vermin out of their lurking Holes, in which he was very serviceable and successful, and for which, no doubt, they did not fail to *remember* him. The first time we meet with him in Publick, is, I think, in *Stafford's* Trial, where he's brought in for Mr. *Dugdale*, as a Collateral Evidence. But by that time the Wind was a little upon turning, and the *Tide* of Popular Aversion not quite so strong against Popery, being by the cunning of our common Enemy diverted  
into

into little Streams, and private Factions; and Arbitrary Power driving on, as the best way to prosecute the Designs of *Rome*; to which the *City of London* in a particular manner made a vigorous Resistance; which displeasing the grand *Agitators*, no wonder they endeavour'd, as much as possible, to do it a mischief; their kindness to it having been sufficiently experienced in 66. and even since. In order to which, the K. was pleas'd, by the advice of his *Ghostly Brother*, to alter the common and almost constant course of Parliaments, and call one at *Oxford* instead of *London*. Many of the Members whereof, and especially those of *London*, were apprehensive of some Design upon 'em there, having formerly in the *Gun-powder Treason*, and ever since, sufficiently found the *Love* of the Papists to Protestant Parliaments, and knowing very well what they were to expect from their kindness, if they shou'd be attempted upon by 'em, and found defenceless. And more ground of Suspicion they had, because, as *Colledge* protests in his Speech, there had been Affidavits judiciously made of a *form'd Design* against 'em, being besides remov'd away from the *City of London*, which had always so much of the English Blood in't, as heartily to love Parliaments, and for that reason wou'd have ventur'd all for their defence. From these, and such like Reasons 'twas, that several of the Parliament men went accompanied with some of their Friends, well arm'd and accoutred, to *Oxford*, of which number this Mr. *Colledge* was one, he waiting on my Lord *Clare*, *Paget*, and *Huntington* to *Oxford*; where the Parliament, foreseeing what has since happen'd, wou'd have gone



gone on where they left off in former Sessions, which causing great Heats, every body knows how abruptly they were dissolv'd not long after their meeting. 'Twas now grown the entertainment of every Coffee-House, and the Subject of every *Buffoon's* Pamphlet, to expose and vilifie *Parliaments* as much as possible, and the very name of it was now grown as odious to some men, as that of Protestant. Mr. *Colledge* had, besides all his other forementioned Crimes, been, as he declares in his Speech, a great Honourer of that august Assembly, and had been in former Sessions engaged by some of the honourable Members to search the places adjoyning the Parliament House, lest there should be a new Gunpowder Treason hatching for 'em; from whence, as he says himself, he believes he got that Popular Name of *Protestant Joyner*.

All these Reasons together were more than enough to get him taken out of the way; and for the performance thereof, *Heins*, *Macnamarra*, and one or two of the Apostate Evidence of the Popish Plot, informed against him. Nor is it a wonder that after so many attempts, some of those men should be prevail'd with to prove false; but rather, that under so many temptations, any of 'em resisted, or were not sooner Villains. These Persons swore such *mad things* against him, of taking *Whitehall*, and pulling the King out of it, and such other odd wild Stories, that partly from the improbability of the *matter*, and partly from the ill Character of the *Persons* who witness'd it, the Jury here in *London* refus'd to find the Bill, but return'd it *Ignoramus*. On which, contrary to all Justice, and President, and Law, and Common

mon Reason, which forbids a man should be twice in danger of his Life for the same Offence ; the business was remov'd to *Oxford*, where how little Civility or common Justice he met with in his Tryal, was then notorious to all the World : A Person being check'd, for giving him but assistance and notes in the way of his calling , to make his defence, when his Life was engaged: Yet tho even those Notes were deny'd him : None that heard the Tryal, or so much as read it, but must grant, that he made a very extraordinary Defence, and much more than could have been expected from a man of more Learning. But he might have spared all his Labour ; the business was no doubt on't resolv'd upon before, and he was found Guilty, Sentenc'd and Executed *according to Order*. To look back once more, and enquire a little deeper into the very original of the matter : That there was a design laid to bring in most of the worthy Patriots of *England* into a *Sham-Plot* under the odious, scare-crow name of *Presbyterians*, not only the *Meal-tub*-attempt, and several other of the same *Batch*, makes sufficiently appear ; but the late Essay of *Fitz-harris* above all the rest, was enough to satisfy the most prejudiced Persons. He had conspired with some others to write a scandalous *Libel* against the King, which was to be laid on such as they'd call *Presbyterians*, and this to be sent to their Houses, or conveyed into their Pockets, and there to be seiz'd, and the Persons prosecuted thereupon. This business the *Oxford* Parliamant had before 'em, and began to smell out who set it on foot ; and being resolv'd to find the bottom on't, lest he should be hang'd up

up on the sudden to prevent his Confession, ( he now beginning to melt a little ) as *Hubert* who fir'd *London* formerly was, they impeached him, to keep the examination of that matter to themselves. 'Tis too long to run over the Proceedings against him, and the Court-Parties subtle contrivance, to Hang, Draw, and Quarter him, and so to hinder effectually his *telling any more Tales*. 'Tis sufficient to observe, that this design was prosecuted for several years after, and poor *Colledge* was to bear the first brunt on't, as has been already declared.

If we reflect yet further on the manner of his Tryal, and not look on to any others, one wou'd be apt to think 'twas impossible a man could be destroyed with more injustice and barbarity than he was, or that twelve men who look'd like *Christians*, could be found out, who would hang a Man upon such Evidence as was given against him.

When a Criminal shall be kept a close Prisoner in the *Tower*, without having sufficient means to make his Defence, till he come to his Tryal: When, as has been said, he shall be rifled of his Notes, by which he could only save his Life, on which he depended, and that just before he came to his Tryal; though assisted therein by that very Council assigned by the Court for him: When he shall in vain demand 'em again, and call Heaven and Earth to witness, that he's meerly cheated of his Life for want of 'em: When all his redress is such a frivolous excuse, as not only a Judge, but any honest Man would be asham'd to make use of—— Nay, such a sort of a one as is commonly made before the Judges, but seldom by 'em——

That

That 'twas somebody else did it — That the Court, the *Chief-Justice*, had 'em not, nor did take 'em from him; when the very Person stood by who rob'd him of 'em; and yet he could have no reparation: When the Kings Council must whisper the *Chief-Justice* on the Bench, and the Court must be adjourned, on purpose to examine into those *Minutes* which the poor Man had got together to save his Life, and even from them get an opportunity to take it away, altering the manner of their Prosecution, strengthening and bolstring their Evidence where they found it weak or contradictory: When all the Evidence against him, were not only such as an honest *London Jury* wou'd not believe, though a Country one, directed by the Kings Council, could make a shift to do it; but were every one of 'em, who witness'd any thing material, confounded by such home Evidence, as if any thing in the world could do it, did certainly invalidate and annul their Testimonies: When one of them swears horridly, *He cared not what he swore, nor whom he swore against, for 'twas his Trade to get Money by swearing.* — That the Parliament were a company of Rogues for not giving the King Money, but he would help him to Money out of the Fanaticks Estates, which is explained by what Smith says, — *That if the Parliament would not give the King Money, but stood on the Bill of Exclusion, 'twas pretence enough to swear a design to seize the King at Oxford.* When this same Heins very pleasantly says, *'Twas a Judgment upon the King and the People, and the Irish-men's swearing against 'em was justly fallen on 'em, for out- ing the Irish of their Estates.* When others of 'em swear,

swear, That since the Citizens deserted 'em, they would not starve; That they would have *Colledge's* Blood; That tho they had gone against their Consciences, 'twas because they had been persuaded to't, and could get no Mony else; and when they had said before they believed *Colledge* had no more hand in any Conspiracy against his Majesty, than the *Child unborn*; When they would have hired others to swear more into the same Plot; when the Bench was so just and kind Counsel for the Prisoner, as to tell the Jury, The Kings Witnesses were on their Oaths, the Prisoners not, and so one to be credited before the other; in which case 'tis impossible for any man living to make a defence against a perjur'd Villain. Lastly, When the Prisoner himself very weightily objected—— That there was no proof of any Persons being concern'd with him in the design of seizing the King, and 'twas wisely answer'd, —— That he might be so vain to design it alone—— A thousand times more Romantic Improbability than an Army's lying conceal'd at *Knightsbridge*, and of the same stamp with *Drawcansir's* killing all on both sides. Taking all these things together, hardly ever was a man at this rate *banter'd* out of his Life before any Judicature in the world, in any place or Age that History hath left us.

Nor ought the great Service he did to the Nation in general to be ever forgotten; since notwithstanding all the disadvantages he was under, the publick stream running so violently against him and his Witnesses, and the surprize which such strange Treatment, when he was on his Life, might cast him into, he yet made so strong a Defence,



fence, by shewing what sort of Witnesses were brought against him, hindring them ever after from being believ'd, and thereby certainly saved many anothers Life, tho he could not his own.

Nor can the undaunted Courage, and firm Honesty of the man be hardly ever enough admired. Since besides what he shewed in his defence, after he was condemned, as he himself said, as good as without a Tryal, he boldly ask'd, *When he was to be executed?* without any the least seeming concern. And tho he had time considerable before his Execution to consider on't, refus'd to save his Life so meanly, as to make other innocent men's the price of his own; without which design they had hardly been so kind to have given him so long a Reprieve.

As for his *Behaviour at his Execution*: 'Twas such as convinc'd more than a few of his greatest Enemies, and made 'em entertain a much better opinion of him than before. From his *last Speech* we shall remark several Passages as another argument for his Innocency. But before we proceed any further in 'em, 'twill be needful to fix one assertion, which we may presume few modest unprejudiced Persons, will deny, and which we shall have occasion to make further use of. — 'Tis, — That a Protestant, who believes an Heaven and Hell, and is not a Man of no Principles, or debauch'd and atheistical, would go out of the World, into the Presence of that God who must Judge him, with a *Lie* in his Mouth. — This none will deny, but those who have a very great kindness for the *Papists*; and yet of all men in the world, such as these must not offer to do it, —  
since

since 'twas the very argument they made use of for the Innocence of the Jesuits, and other Traytors. Tho' on that side we know there are unanswerable Arguments not to believe them; their Religion recommending *Perjury*, and all sorts of Villanies to 'em as meritorious, when Holy Church is concerned. Their Church besides allowing 'em Dispensations *before*, and Absolution *after*, and Purgatory at the worst, whence a few Masses would fetch them out again. — Things being thus, what can any Man of *Modesty* say to Mr. Colledges Protestations over and over, both in Prison, and at his Death, that he was perfectly innocent of what he dy'd for? [*I did deny it then, (says he, that is, before the Council) and do deny it upon my Death: I never was in any manner of Plot in my days; nor if I had had any such design as these have sworn against me, take God to witness, as I am a dying Man, and on the terms of my Salvation, I know not one Man upon the face of the Earth which would have stood by me.*] And lower, [*I knew not of any part of what they swore against me, till I heard it sworn at the Bar.*] Again, [*All the Arms we had was for our Defence, in case the Papists should have made any attempt by way of Massacre, &c. God is my witness, this is all I know.*] And in his solemn Prayer, and some of his almost last very Words — [*'Tis thee, O God, I trust in. — I disown all Dispensations, and will not go out of the World with a Lie in my Mouth.*] — And just after to the People, [*From the sincerity of my Heart, I declare again, That these are the very Sentiments of my Soul, as God shall have mercy upon me.*]

Now upon the whole I'd ask any sober man, what he would answer to this, and how he can forbear, without the greatest Violation to all Principles of *Good Nature* and *Ingenuity* to pronounce this Person innocent ?

Thus dy'd Mr. Colledge, whose Blood, as he himself desir'd it might, sufficiently spoke the *Justice of his Cause*, who seem'd in his Speech to have some Prophetick Intimations, *that his Blood would not be the last*, as indeed it was not, but rather a *Prelude* to that which follow'd, the edge of the Laws being now turn'd against all those who dar'd defend it.

He has one Daughter yet living, whose Gratitude and Generosity to those who were kind to her under the Misfortunes of her Family, is at present the wonder and entertainment of the Court of *England*, and whose brave Soul speaks her the true Child of such a Father.

For his Character. How great and undaunted his Courage was, both his Tryal and Death testify. He was very vigorous and earnest, almost to a Fault, in his undertakings. But certainly there are so few who err on that hand, that we may without flattery account this his warm zeal for his Country, if it did a little exceed, a happy as well as a very pardonable error. He was extraordinary ingenious in his own Trade, and employed amongst great Persons for his *dexterity* therein. He had an entire love for the City of *London*, and stood up for its honour and priviledges as highly as any man living. He had a Soul so very great and generous, that many who knew him well, have said, considering his Education,

cation, they wondred how he came by it. He was a man of very good sound sense, considerably more than those of his Rank generally have, which he had much improved in his latter time by conversation with Persons of Honour and Quality. In fine, he liv'd sufficiently belov'd by those who knew, and did not fear him; and dy'd lamented by his Friends, and admired and esteemed by his very Enemies.

Some time after his Death his Picture was sold about Town, which as I remember very much displeased the Observator. Under it were these Lines engraven,

*By Irish Oaths, and wrested Lams I sell;  
A prey to Rome, a Sacrifice to Hell,  
My guilty Blood for speedy vengeance tries,  
Hear, hear and help, for Earth my Suit denies.*

## ARTHUR Earl of Essex.

**T**hat Party, and those Persons who were engag'd to manage the Designs before-mention'd, were now entred on the most compendious way of introducing what they desir'd, as well as avoiding what their own Consciences, and all the World knew they deserv'd. Having those in their own hands who had the Executive part of the Government in theirs; and finding no doubt a sort of malicious pleasure, as well as advantage, in

destroying People by those Laws which were made to preserve 'em ; a Villany to be compared with nothing but the Treason of that *Monster of a Priest*, who gave the Emperour poison in the Blessed Sacrament : Having wrought up the Nation, and all Parties therein to a high ferment, making one side mad for Slavery, as if they had all been at *Constantinople* as well as their Sheriff, and learnt the Doctrine of the Bow-string ; some of 'em treated, others cajoled, others frightened, and some few reason'd into the Belief of *Absolute Authority in Kings*, and Obedience Active as well as what is call'd Passive, to be paid to all their Commands. Some honest, several learned, more witty men joyning in with all their power to advance the Transactions at that time on the Wheel. And on the other side, exasperating that Party who were more tenacious of their Liberties, as much as possible against the Constitution which they saw so horridly abused both in Church and State, perswading 'em all the Clergy were for making 'em Slaves, and themselves and the Court great to ride upon 'em ; whereas really it was only a Party, tho' too large, who made more noise, tho' they had neither more sense nor number than those who differ'd from 'em ; and by this means rendring many of the trading part of the Nation especially, so dissatisfied with 'em, and eager against 'em, that they began to think they had reason to fear as bad Effects thereof as they had experienced in the last Age, and so sided more closely with that Party whence they expected Protection. When things were in this posture, and a great many Persons either taken off from their  
natural



natural Love to a *lawful Liberty*, which is so much of the very nature of an English-man; the Managers of the great Intrigue which was to accomplish our ruine, resolv'd after they had begun with *Colledge*, to rise higher, and fly at *nobler Game*, and take off all those whom they cou'd not win over, or against whom Interest or Revenge had more keenly engaged 'em, and who were most likely to make the most vigorous opposition against their Attempts. But finding the *London Juries* unmoveably honest, and no way to accomplish their Designs on these Persons, while their Witnesses wou'd not be believ'd, and no way to get Juries fit for their turn, but by having Sheriffs of the same stamp; and finding the Party they had gotten, after all their tricks, which many of those who then knew, are now ashamed of, visibly and fairly out-nimbred by those who were not yet ripe for Slavery, they bethought themselves of one way to rid themselves of that Inconveniency—which was by a *Quo Warranto* against the City of *London*, that they might more effectually, and with less noise have what Sheriffs they pleas'd; or in effect, hang whomever they thought their Enemies, and not be forc'd almost to blush at those visible and sensible Illegalities with which they had forc'd those Officers upon the City.

This they had accomplished in the Year 1683, when Judgment was given against the Charter of *London*, whose Liberties had been confirm'd to 'em by *William the Conquerour*, and deliver'd down before from immemorial Ages, and this by two Judges only in *Westminster-Hall*, tho' the greatest

Cause, one may venture to say, that ever was legally try'd therein.

Now by this time they had, after so many former fruitless endeavours, brought something of a Plot to bear; and with this Advantage above all their former, that there was really something in't, altho', as *Bays* says in another Case, that Truth, which was notoriously blended with Lies and Perjuries. The Occasion of it, we may best meet with in *Holloway's* most ingenuous Acknowledgment; [*By Arbitrary and Illegal ways, and force of Arms, they had got Sheriffs to their mind,—Witnesses they had before, but wanted Jurors to believe them. Now they have got Sheriffs who will find Jurors to believe any Evidence against a Protestant, and so hang up all the King's Friends by degrees.—None being suffer'd to come near the King but those who have been declar'd Enemies to the King and Kingdom, who to save themselves, do endeavour to keep all things from the King's knowledge, and perswade him against Parliaments, &c.*]

Thus much for the Occasion. The Design seems to be the same with what was intended at first, by many of those great and eminent Persons, both Clergy and Laity, in their late appearance in Arms; tho' by the Providence of God, for the Security of the Nation, and Reason of State, it has since been carried further then theirs was ever to have been. [*Seeing fair means, says Holloway, won'd not do, but all things on the Protestants side misrepresented to the King by such great Criminals, and none more in favour than those,—To take the King from his Evil Council, and that (as the late wonderful Turn was transacted, and as 'tis impossible to*

be

be otherwise in business of so large a Concern, by a general Insurrection in several Parts of England at once.] All those who have had any share in the present Transactions, which are upon the matter all the Nation, have shewn themselves plainly of the same mind with those who were engaged in this, on which the Dispute runs, as to the Reason of the Thing, and the Principles on which they proceeded——And their only difference is about Matter of Fact, Whether Things were then at that height as to need desperate Remedies. If it be objected, That such Attempts are only glossy Pretences, vail'd under the specious name of the Publick Good. — The Answer is as ready as the Objection, Is there any difference between Reason and no Reason, Truth and Falshood? There is a right, and a wrong—and if ever Liberties were invaded, and the Ends of Government vacated and annulled, never were the Foundations of such a Design plainer than on this Occasion—So that 'twas indeed, what was of it, a Counter-Plot, rather than a Plot against the Government and Laws of *England*, and that when no other Remedy cou'd without a miracle be expected.

That this was the height and utmost of the then Design, and that no brave good man need to be ashamed on't, I think, all or most men are by this time pretty well satisfied. But alas, this would not serve the turn of the Managers——Even this might not, nor perhaps cou'd not be, as certainly 'twas not, fairly prov'd against several, who suffer'd for it. This was a thing so necessary and defensible, that there was occasion of laying fouler

colours upon't, to fright and amuse the World, and let 'em stand by patiently, and see their best and bravest Patriots sink, with much such Prudence and Wisdom as the Sheep in the Fable suffer'd those bloody Mastives to be destroy'd, who so often broke the Peace between them and the harmless Wolves; and were afterwards in their turns handsomly worried, and justly eaten up for their Reward. 'Twas convenient to make somewhat more of it—There must be an Assassination grafted on this Insurrection, or else all wou'd not be worth—an Halter : 'Twas the business and interest of the Popish Party to render their Enemies odious as possible to the people, of whom for their steddy Zeal and Love to their Religion and Liberties they had long been the Darlings. To accomplish this, 'twas very necessary to get some Persons to insinuate into their Counsels, to inflame things higher, to make black and odious Proposals of Assassinations, and Murders, and such bloody Villanies as alarm the Good-nature of an English-man with the very mentioning of 'em.—Which yet some of the honester and wiser looking upon as mad hot words only, or, if any more intended, having it in their power to prevent such wickedness another way, wou'd not yet turn Informers, nor ruin these persons, who in all probability were only Trapans to ruin them. In all the Papers relating to this matter, we shall find all Discourses of this nature center'd in *West* and *Rumsey*. *West* was very much for the Lopping business—for killing 'em in their Calling — and was full and eager of it. Tho' *Walcot*, *Holloway*, and all whoever heard it propos'd, receiv'd it still with the

the greatest Detestation imaginable, as a most base and bloody Action, which they never wou'd have their own Hands imbrn'd in, nor their Posterity stain'd with. That all the great Persons, of Birth and Honour, were absolutely against any so foul an Action, and abhorr'd it from their Souls, we may find, even without the forc'd Confession of their worst Enemies, by the Lord *Russel's* Concern when such a thing was matter'd, and the Duke of *Monmouth's* Answer, —God so—*Kill the King, I will never suffer it.* The account we have of it, is from him who shou'd best know, and that's *West*, who in his Discourse with *Holloway* on this Occasion, tells him of the *New-market* and *Rye-house* Design—that the King and Duke were to be kill'd as they came by, for which they had provided Arms for fifty men—and were promis'd *Rumbald's* House, which lay in the Road. When ask'd, Who was to act it—who were to fire these Arms for fifty men—Pistols, Carbines, and Blunderbusses? He cou'd name but two men, *Rumbald* and his Brother; who certainly must have been very dexterous to have discharg'd all those dreadful Businesss themselves without Assistance, and is much such a likely story as *Colledges* being so vain to attempt seizing the King by himself, without any Assistance.

But if even these two Brothers, who very likely were pickt out by the Evidence for the King-killers, meerly for their hard Names, the very sound of which wou'd be as shrew'd an Argument of their Guilt to Women and Children, and with as much Justice, as some of the odd Names of the poor People in the West were made, at least a strong



strong Presumption against 'em , and almost as mortal as an *Innuendo*. If even these two were innocent of this horrid Business , who were the only Persons engaged therein, pray, What then becomes of the Assassination ? And won't *Rumbald's* Blunderbuss bear laughing at full as well as *Pickering's* Carbine or Screw-Gun, and chawd Bullets. But if there be any thing solid in that Observation in *Colledge's* Case, *That a Christian, and a Protestant won't forswear himself when he's just going out of the World* ; if this fair Supposition may but be granted me, as I see not how it can be avoided, the matter will be clear enough ; *Rumbald* himself in his Speech at his Execution at Scotland , absolutely disclaiming and denying any hand in any such Design. See his Speech , and Answer to his Indictment——[ *He desired all present to believe the words of a dying man——as for having design'd the King's death, he never directly, nor indirectly, intended such a Villany; That he abhorr'd the very thoughts on't ; and that he blessed God he had that Reputation in the World, that he knew none had the Impudence to ask him the Question, and he detested the Thoughts of the Action, and hoped all good People won'd believe him, which was the only way he had to clear himself ; and he was sure that this Truth shou'd one Day be manifest to all men.* ] So at his Execution——[ *I think it necessary to clear myself of some Aspersions laid on my Name ; and first, That I shou'd have had so horrid an Intention of destroying the King and his Brother.* ] Where he repeated what he had said to the Jury on the same Subject.

The Sum is, — If any Assassination, it must have been by the *Rumbolds* : If not by them, as has been proved, then not at all. If no assassination in this Plot, then nothing is left of malignity in it, but a lawful and laudable opposition to the breach and ruine of our good Laws and Government ; and even that, as will be proved, not proved against most of those that by the iniquity of the times, suffer'd for the same.

We have been forced to give this fair and impartial Scheme or Idea of that design which was at that time represented so formidable and dreadful, before we could handsomly proceed to the Death of this Noble Lord, or those others that followed him ; and that as well from the order of the History, as for his Vindication. And as has been remark'd, 'Twas necessary for that Party who manag'd our ruine, that the forementioned business of the Assassination should be believed, and nothing like a real one actually performed, to gain Credit to a feigned one only pretended : For what could be a greater Argument that there was some black wickedness at the bottom, some sin of an extraordinary stain, like the Murder of Princes, bearing too hard on his Conscience, could possibly induce so great a man to so unchristian an attempt on his own Person ? Hence they might, and no doubt did argue — Hence the very rabble may easily reason — Certainly there was more in it than only just consultations, and necessary measures taken for the publick Safety by the Peers of the Realm — by the King and Kingdoms best Friends, to deliver his Majesty from those Familiars that haunted him. There was more than this,

this, and this Lord was conscious of it, or else certainly he had never acted what he has. Now this would effectually excite that aversion which must necessarily follow from all honest men to a Party who could be guilty of such horrid designs. This must of necessity, as in effect it did, sway much with those Juries who were to sit upon the Lives of any accused or concerned in the same business, had there not been more weighty reasons to be produced below towards the finding 'em guilty. Altho'tis certain, by their own confession, the best excuse they could make for Innocent Blood, particularly in *Russell's Case*, was that Confirmation they had to the Evidence sworn against 'em, by *Essex's Murder*. Besides, There might be a barbarous kind of a pleasure, in opening this Plot with a Scene so like that which began the Popish one; and that in all probability, by the same Actors whose hands were deep in the oothers.

There was a Gentleman kill'd, which contributed very much towards the credit of that Plot, tho in another way. *Here* must be one to undergo the same Fate for the same reason. And both of 'em too pretendedly to kill themselves—Just one as much as another.

These Preliminaries being cleared, 'twill be now time to come to the Person of this Noble Lord, his Family, and former manner of Life.

Every one knows he was of the illustrious Family of the *Capels*, whose Father dy'd for a Family, whence he deserved better Treatment for his sake, and had received it, had he not fallen into the Hands of Popish Gratitude and Mercy; which his Enemies knowing too well, and doubting the  
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Sweetness of temper which all the world ever acknowledged in King *Charles* the Second would not give him over to their publick Revenge, in all probability resolved to take a shorter course with him. He had been some years before in the highest place under the King in *Ireland*, and there behayed himself with that Wisdom and Candor, inseparable from all the actions of his Life—and lived above Blame, though not above Envy: Being recalled thence unexpectedly, and dealt with not very handsomly; which yet he bore with a Spirit like a brave man, and a Christian.

My *Lord of Essex* was a Person, whom, 'twas no doubt the highest *Interest* of the Popish Faction to have gotten out of the way, even tho there had bin no such extraordinary Reason as has been mentioned. He had large Interest, a plentiful Estate, a great deal of Courage, understood the world, and the Principles and Practices of the Papists as well as any man, having been of several *Secret Committees* in the Examination of the Plot, on which very reason, there was as much necessity for his dying as Sir *E. B. Godfrey's*. He was besides all this, they very well knew, of *Inflexible Honesty*, and so true a greatness of mind, they could no more expect to gain him, than Heaven it self to be on their side.

As for the immediate Subject of his Death, the manner and circumstances thereof—It must first be granted, and a very reasonable demand it is, that for the present only supposing he was murder'd by the Papists, they would, we may be sure, make it their business to render the manner of it as dark as the Hell in which 'twas contriv'd,

And Murders, especially of that magnitude, don't use to be committed in the face of all the world, and at Noon-day. When Power is engaged in any Villany, when the same Power is still continu'd, or increas'd, and can be easily exercis'd in taking out of the way the *Tyrants*, tho' it loves the *Treason*; and when so many years have interven'd since the Fact; 'tis no wonder at all if things are more in the dark, than they would have been, had at that very instant Liberty been given to have enquired into it, which was so loudly and passionately demanded. But this we are yet certain of, tho' no more be yet publicly known in this matter than what has formerly been Printed; and tho' there may be several reasons, both of State and Decency, which may perhaps make it convenient that things should always be as they are; yet there are already such *violent* probabilities, both that he was murdered, and murdered by Papists; And of the other side, such at least next to impossibilities, in his acting it himself, that as long as the World stands, no modest man will be able either to get by 'em or over 'em; nor the most impudent or cunning, to out-face, or give them an answer.

For the probability that he was murder'd by Popish Contrivement, besides those already named, *Why* they should do it; here are these following Arguments *That* they did it; Their Principles too openly known to be deny'd: Their *Practices* in all Ages, and this present, — Sir E.B.G. the very *Prototype* of *Essex, Arnold*, all the pretended *Legal* Murders, all that has since happened — But if 'tis said, some Papists are better and  
braver



braver than others. Let's come nearer. Would those that formerly burnt *London*; those who have since broke all the Obligations of Gratitude and Good Nature, nay, Publick Faith, and the most solemn *Oaths* which 'tis possible for a man to take—Who, if the Testimonies of such as have confirmed it with their dying *Breaths*, and last drop of *Blood*, may be credited, who have encouraged, hired, paid men for attempts to be made on the lives of their nearest, and too tender Relations; Would such as these stick at a single murther, a small *Veneal Villany* to advance their Cause, and merit Heaven into the Bargain; When presence of Justice, necessity of Affairs, Reason of State, and so many more such weights might be be thrown into the Scales? More than all this—When such Persons as these were *actually* in the place where this Murther was committed, at the very instant 'twas done? All these together, with what is yet to follow, amount to as strong Arguments and *pregnant* Circumstances as the nature of the thing will bear, and mark out the Murtherers as plainly and visibly, as if they had come out of his Chamber with *white Sleeves*, and a long *Knife* in their Hands, bloody all over.

And indeed there seems need of little more than relating bare, simple, indubitable matter of Fact, and such as hardly any body will deny, to satisfy any cool rational man in the business.

The Earl of *Essex's* Throat was cut in the *Tower* the 13<sup>th</sup> of *July*, about Eight or Nine in the Morning, at which time the Duke of *York*, a bigotted Papist, his known, bitter Enemy, was there present. This was reported at *Andover*,  
and

sixty miles from *London*, the 11th of *July*, the first day of his Imprisonment, and as common Town-talk in every bodies mouth, as Sir *E. B. G's* at the time of his murther, and told a Person travelling on the Road near the same place, which was witnessed before, even a *Jeffreys*, in a publick Court of Judicature. A Deputy-Coroner present at the Inquest instead of a *Legal* one; none of the Relations to attend the Inquest. The Body remov'd from the place where 'twas first laid, stript, the Cloathes taken away, the Body and Rooms washed from the Blood, the Clothes denied the view of the Jury. The principal Witnesses examin'd, only *Bomeny* his man, and *Russel* his Warder, who might be so justly suspected of being privy to, if not actors in it. That the Jury hasten'd and hurried the Verdict, when so great a man, a Peer of the Realm, and such a Peer was concern'd, who was the King's Prisoner. When Sir *Thomas Overbury* had been before murther'd in the *Tower*, and his Jury brought in an unrighteous Verdict; when even Sir *E. B. G's* Jury, so much cry'd out against for their ill management, adjorn'd their Verdict, and staid considerably before they brought it in. This at a time when the Lord *Russel* was to be try'd for a share in a Plot in which the Earl was also accus'd of being concern'd. One Branch of which Conspiracy, and which 'twas so much the Papists interest to have the belief on't fix'd, was a barbarous Murther of the Duke and King; when nothing cou'd so immediately, and critically tend to that noble Gentleman's ruine; when the News was instantly, with so much diligence, convey'd from the *Tower* to the *Sessions-house*, *Bench*, *Bar*, and

and *Jury*, and harp'd upon by the Lord *Howard* just then, and by others in after Trials, as the more than a thousand Witnesses, and the very finger of God. After this, the very Centinel, who that Day stood near the place, found dead in the Tower-Ditch, and Captain *Hawley* barbarously murther'd down at *Rocheſter*; and ill methods us'd to prevent the truth of all from coming to light. Mr. *Braddon* harass'd, prosecuted, jayl'd and fined for stirring in it. On the fair and impartial Consideration but of these things, hardly one of which but is notorious Matter of Fact, granted by all sides——What *can* a man conclude from the whole, but whether he will or no—That this noble Lord was certainly murthered by the Popish Party?

But there's yet more Evidence,—If he could not Murther himself in that manner, who then should do it but those on whom the Guilt on't has been justly charged? And this from the manner of it. His Throat was cut from one Jugular to the other, and by the *Aspera Arteria* and Wind-pipe to the *Vertebra* of the Neck, both the Jugulars being thoroughly divided. How often has it been ask'd, and how impossible it should ever receive an Answer,——How could any Living Man, after the prodigious flux of Blood which must necessarily follow on the dividing one Jugular, as well as all those strong Muscles which lye in the way, how cou'd he ever have strength to go through, all round, and come to the other, without fainting? One cou'd as soon believe the Story of the Pirate, who after his Head was cut off, ran the whole length of his Ship; or that of St. *Dennis*, which was no doubt grafted on the other.

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Nor

Nor is it rendred less impossible from the Instrument with which those who did it wou'd persuade the World 'twas perform'd by himself. A little *French Razor*. Had *Bomey* held to the *Penknife*, it had been much more likely. But here was nothing to rest or bear upon in the cutting, it having no *Tongue* to hold it up in the *Hast*: And as 'tis observ'd in the Prints on that Subject, he must therefore, supposing he had done it himself, have held his hand pretty far, upon the very Blade, and so with about *two inches and a half* of it, whittle out a wound of four inches deep, and all round his Neck, as if he had intended to have been his own *Headsmen* as well as *Executioner*, out of Remorse of Conscience for his *Treason*.

Lastly, His *Character* makes it morally impossible he should be guilty of so mean and little an Action. 'Tis for Women, and Eunuchs, and Lovers, and Romantick Hero's to kill themselves; not Men of known Virtue, Temper, Wisdom, Piety and Gravity; who had formerly digested as great *Affronts* as cou'd be put upon a Man, with a candor and calmness so worthy a Man and a Christian, who had been so far from defending so barbarous and unmanly a thing as Self-murder, as is suggested, that he had rather exprest himself with Detestation concerning it.

And as he ought not, and cou'd not be hurried into so fatal an Action by a false mistaken *Greatness of Mind*; as no such thing, or so much as the least Footsteps of it appear'd in the whole course of his Life; so from all his Actions in the *Tower* before his Death, we may fairly deduce the quite  
con-

contrary to what his Enemies have asserted; and by observing his Conduct there, discover plainly that no such black Intention ever enter'd into his Mind. This appears from his ordering his People to have his own Plate sent for out of the Country to dress his Meat, as well as a considerable parcel of Wines bought and brought into the Tower for his drinking, that he might not stand to the Courtesie of his Enemies; and this sufficient to last him till he cou'd be deliver'd by due Course of Law.

I can foresee but one thing that can with the least plausibility be objected to this considerable Passage; and 'tis, *That this was when he was first Committed, before he fell Melancholy, which he more eminently did when he heard my Lord Russell was to be try'd, as being griev'd and desperate for having brought so brave a Gentleman into such unhappy Circumstances, as Bomeny somewhere or other pretends to, on discoursing with him on that particular.*

But there are two Answers which cut all the Sinews of this Objection: One, *That this was the very day before he was murder'd, that he sent both for his Wine and Silver Vessels.* Now Bomeny lays the Foundation of his Melancholy, and the Intention to be his own Destroyer on the very first day he came into the Tower. For he says in his Deposition in Braddon's Trial, *[That he had order'd his Servant two days before to provide a Penknife for him, on pretence of cutting his Nails, but with an intent of committing that Fatal and Tragical Act.]* The Thirteenth of July was the day of his Martyrdom, two days before then must be the Eleventh, the day of his Commitment: But 'twas the inter-



vening day, the Twelfth of that Month, on which he took such care to eat and drink safely: whereas had there been any such design in his Head, he wou'd never have taken such Measures; and if he had had an intention to amuze his People, that no such thing might have been suspected, he might have taken other ways, less troublesom and chargable.

But what yet clears all the remaining *Scruple*, is his ordering his *Gentleman* to take *Notes* at my Lord *Russel's* Trial, appointing him how to manage himself for the effecting it, so calmly and orderly, that he can't be suppos'd, either disturb'd, or desperate, on account of his own *Guilt*, or *Russel's unhappiness*; or to have taken this Course with himself, as *Jeffreys* says in *Braddon's* Trial, to prevent *Justice*, tho' others did it with him to prevent *Mercy*.

One great Argument more; That, which indeed when it happen'd, did much alarm all *thinking* men, and make 'em shrewdly suspect *foul play* had been offer'd, was the ill Treatment those met with who dared but pry into these *Arcana Imperij*, and desire but in a *legal* way that the *Business* might be reviewed, and search'd to the bottom. This was granted in the Case of poor Sir *Edmund*, many years after his Death, and Commission given to enquire into it to *L'Estrange*.— But 'tis confess'd there was a great deal of *Difference*. One, as 'twas manag'd, tending to root up all belief of a *Po-lish Plot*: T'other, if it had been honestly examin'd, might have done as much in reality to a *Protestant* One. The great *tenderness* of some Persons, in this Case, and their huge aversion and  
unwil-

unwillingness to be touch'd thereabouts, made People more than suspect, that there was some Sore or other in the Case which wou'd not endure it. Mr. Braddon had heard of a Boy, who being playing before Essex's window that Morning, saw a bloody Razor thrown out of the window; he thought he shou'd do the King Service to make a Discovery, if any Injury had been offer'd to one of his Subjects, especially so great and good a Person. He brings the Boy with him to my L. Sunderland, and for his Reward is himself brought before the Council, severely Reprimanded, and forced to give 2000*l.* Bail to Answer an Information for Suborning the Boy to say what he did. Upon which, after a great many worse Vexations, which besides the charge and trouble, hindred also his Prosecution of the Business while 'twas yet fresh and warm, he was at last try'd: The very words in the Indictment running, — *For his procuring and suborning false Witnesses to prove that the Earl of Essex was not a Felon of himself, &c.* Of which, according to Jeffreys Law, and the Conscience of the then Juries, he was found Guilty, and fin'd for the same, tho' not the least syllable of Practice or Subornation prov'd against him: tho' the Boy did himself acknowledge he had said those things, as well as several Witnesses prov'd it: tho' 'twas terribly suspicious that some Art had been afterwards used with the Boy to make him deny it; tho' Jeffreys storm'd and rav'd, after his usual manner, when Mr. Wallop did put such a Question, and wou'd by no means have it be answer'd.

But whatever this courageous honest Gentleman suffer'd from their Spite and Malice, he bore all with *handsom*, and truly English Resolution. As he before his Imprisonment, and since, was indefatigably diligent in getting up the bottom of this *foul Business*; all English-men must own, he has deserv'd the *Love and Honour* of his Country, who was not discourag'd from acting even in the *worst of times*, against a whole enraged Faction, where he had such firm and pregnant Circumstances on which to ground his Attempt; tho' he cou'd not but be sensible he must undergo all the *Censures* of his *Friends*, as forward and imprudent; as well as all the hate and malice of his own and his Countries *Enemies*. He deserves a much fairer *Commendation* than here can be given him; but however, this was a just Debt due to his Courage and Honesty, when he alone durst undertake what all the World else was afraid of: Durst still continue firm to Honour, and Conscience, and his first Resolution, in spite of Fines and Imprisonments, and has now outliv'd 'em all, to carry on his first Undertakings; whose *Design* therein, is no doubt just and generous, whatever the *Event* proves; And although so much Dust may have, since it happened, been purposely thrown on the *Action*, that it may be now more difficult, and perhaps unsuccessful to trace it, than 'twas before.

His

*His Character.*

**I**T must be confessed, 'tis a bold and dangerous thing to attempt the Character of one of the greatest Men which our Age has produc'd, especially for one who had not the honour of any personal intimacy with him. All that's to be done is from what has been already said, and what other *Memoirs* are left of him, to endeavour at something so like him, that any one who sees it, may say t'was meant for the *Picture* of the Great *Essex*, how infinitely soever it must of necessity be short of its *Original*.

The first thing then remarkable in him, and which alone would sufficiently *distinguish* him, is, That he was a Person of *strict Morals*, and *severe Piety*; and that in the midst of a Court and Age not very famous for either. Nor did this degenerate into Superstition or Weakness. He was a refin'd Politician, without what some will say 'tis impossible to be so, and, that's *Dissimulation*. When Affronts were offer'd him, he did not, as others, dissemble 'em, but, like himself only, scorn and conquer 'em; even tho' of the highest nature, and which generally pierce deepest into Persons of his Figure and Character. He was, as all the rest here commemorated, a firm Lover of his Country and Religion, the true Character of a true Englishman; and engaged on their sides against the then Duke of York, and other Ministers, not from any mean pique or little discontented Humour, which he was very much above, but meerly from the

true Respect he had for 'em, and a sense of that imminent Danger they were in, which his piercing Judgment and long Experience made him more sensible of, and his Courage and Virtue more concern'd at, than others ; not only those who sat unconcern'd Spectators, or shar'd in their Ruins ; but even then most of them who were engag'd with him in the same Common Cause of their Defence and Preservation. Nothing of such an impatience, or eagerness, or black melancholy cou'd be discern'd in his Temper or Conversation, as is always the Symptom or Cause of such Tragical Ends, as his Enemies wou'd perswade us he came to.

Lastly, What may be said of most of the rest, does in a more especial and eminent manner agree to the illustrious *Essex* ; and then, which nothing greater can be said of Mortality, *He liv'd an Hero, and dy'd a Martyr.*

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## *William Lord Russel.*

THE next who fell under their Cruelty, and to whose Death *Essex's* was but the *Prologue*, was my Lord *Russel*, without all Dispute the finest *Gentleman* one of 'em that ever *England* bred, and whose pious Life and Virtue was as much *Treason* against the Court, by affronting 'em with what was so much hated there, as any thing else that was sworn against him. His Family was ancient, tho'



tho' not rais'd to the Honours it at present enjoys, till King *Edward's* time, when *John Russel*, a *Dorsetshire* Gentlemen, who had done many Services, and receiv'd many favours from the Crown, both in *Henry* the Seventh, and *Henry* the Eighth's time, being by the latter made Lord High Admiral, and at his Death Lord High Steward of *England* for the Solemnity of the Coronation; obtain'd such a Victory for his young Master against his Rebels, as was rewarded with the Title of *The Earl of Bedford*. The Occasion of it thus—Idolatry and Superstition being now rooting out by the Publick Authority, and *Images* every where pulling down, the *Loyal* Papists mutined, and one of their Priests stabb'd a Commander of the Kings, who was obeying his Orders, and ten thousand of the deluded Rabble rise in the Defence of that barbarous Action, and their old Mass and Holy-water. Against whom this fortunate Lord was sent with an Army, who routed 'em all, relieved *Exeter* which they had besieg'd, and took their Gods, Banners, Crucifixes, and all the rest of their *Trumpery*, wherein the deluded Creatures trusted for Victory. Thus the Family of the *Russels* were early Enemies to the *Romish Superstition*, tho' this brave Gentleman only paid the Scores of all his Ancestors. The Son and Heir of this *John*, was *Francis*, second Earl of *Bedford*, who was as faithful to the Crown, as his Father an Enemy and Terror to the *French*, and a Friend to the *Protestant Religion*, as may appear by the *Learned Books* of *Wickliff*, which he collected, and at his Death bequeath'd to a great Man, who he knew wou'd make good use of 'em. His eldest Son *William*  
Lord

Lord *Russel*, the present Earl of *Bedford*, is sufficiently known to every true Englishman, and his Person and Memory will be honoured by them as long as the World lasts. But 'tis necessary good men should not be immortal—if they were, we should almost lose their Examples, it looking so like Flattery. But to do 'em Justice while they are living, with more safety, and less *censure* we may discourse of that Noble Gentleman, his Son and Namesake, *William Lord Russel*, who made so great a Figure in our Courts and Parliaments, before he was sacrific'd to the Cruelty and Revenge of his Popish Enemies. If we'd find his first Offence, which lay behind the Scene, and was indeed the Cause of his Death, though other Colours were necessary to amuse the Publick, we must look some years backward, as he himself does in his last Speech, wherein he tells the VWorld, [He cannot but think his Earnestness in the matter of the Exclusion had no small influence on his present sufferings.] Being chosen Knight of the Shire for *Bedfordshire*, where the evenness and sweetness of his Behaviour, and his virtuous Life made him so well-beloved, that he'll never be forgotten. He began sooner than most others to see into that danger we were in from Popery, and all those fatal consequences which have since happened; and described 'em as plainly as if he had more than the ordinary inspection of a prudent man into *Futurities*. Thus in his first Speech, on the Discovery of the Popish Plot in 178. He has these words, [I am of opinion that the Life of our King, the safety of our Country, and the Protestant Religion are in great danger from Popery; and that

that either this Parliament must suppress the power and growth of Popery, or else that Popery will soon destroy not only Parliaments, but all that is near and dear to us.] And lower [I humbly move, that we may resolve to take into our consideration in the first place, how to suppress Popery, and prevent a Popish Successor, without which all our endeavours about this matter will not signifie any thing.] And how much he was in the right as to all these Guessees, which then no doubt were nick-named *Groundless and Faction's Fears and Jealousies*, all the World is now satisfied. Nothing can be more handsom than what he says on this Subject in his last Speech, which gives the reasons of his acting at that time, and being so earnest for the Bill, in which indeed is as fair a State of that great Question as we shall any where find in so little a compass. [I cannot (says he) but give some touch about the Bill of Exclusion, and shew the reasons of my appearing in that business, which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such danger of Popery, and that the expectation of a Popish Successor (as I have said in Parliament) put the Kings Life also in such danger, that I saw no way so effectual to secure both, as such a Bill. As to the Limitations which were proposed, if they were sincerely offer'd, and had pass'd into a Law, the Duke then would have been excluded from the Power of a King, and the Government quite alter'd, and little more than the name of a King left: So I could not see either sin or fault in the one, when all People were willing to admit of the other: But thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation easie and safe under him, than a King without it, which must have breed perpetual Jealousies, and continual struggle.] Thus far

far that Noble Lord, with whom concurred at that time very many great and good Men, as true Lovers of the Regulated Monarchy of *England*, as of the Protestant Religion; and indeed all were at that time unanimous in the House of Commons, and other places, except some *honest Men*, who despaired of obtaining his Exclusion: Others who strained their Charity almost as far as *Origen*, who hoped well even of the Devil, and they came not far short, believing a Papist would be honest or grateful. Some who were indifferent—Their private Obligations to the Duke byassing their Judgments too much on his side. Others fearful that the contrary Tyde ran so strong, they could have no safety but under his Protection—and perhaps more than all these, others, who fairly *bought* and *sold* their Religion and Liberties—the Blood and Souls of themselves and honester men; whom 'tis not doubted but our Chronicles will *mark* as long as our Nation has any in't that can but write themselves, or read what others have written.

The Reader will pardon this little Digression, and go on with me to remark some *strange Expressions* in another Speech of his. 'Twas on a Debate in the House for Mony to be given for the Relief of *Tangier*. [*Doth not* (says he) *the Dukes Interest indanger the Kings Life? and are not our Lives and Fortunes in danger to be snatch'd up by his Power? —and shall we yet make him stronger by putting Mony into his hands?*] And a little lower, [*When his Majesty shall be pleased to free us from the danger of a Popish Successor, and remove from his Council, and Places of Trust all those who are for his Interest,*

*Interest, because there can be no distinction made between the Duke's Interest and the Popish — Then I shall conclude, that what Mony we shall give, will be disposed of according to his Majesties own Royal Pleasure, and for the true Protestant Interest, and I shall be ready to give, even all that I have in the World, if his Majesty shall have occasion for it.] I have been the larger in this, to undeceive the World as to that clamouring against those Parliaments for not giving the King Mony, the true reason of which we may here plainly perceive.*

But there is one passage so very remarkable, and I know not how to call it less than *Prophetical*, in the beginning of this same Speech, that it must by no means be omitted; 'tis as follows. [*If ever there should happen in this Nation any such Change, that I should not have Liberty to live a Protestant, I am resolv'd to die one.*] And I think he was as good as his Word — For being mark' out, and among others, appointed for the Slaughter, he was taken up and imprisoned for that end and purpose in the Tower, and brought to his Tryal above all days in the year, on *Essex's* day, the 13th of July, 1683. He was brought to the *Old Bayly*, arraigned, and the same morning tryed for High Treason. He earnestly desired he might have respite, and might not be tryed *that day*, since he had some Witnesses that could not be in Town till the Night; nay, they were in such post-hast, and so hot a scent for his Blood, that on his earnest desire, they would not stay so much as til the Afternoon, pretending 'twas against *President*, and they could not do it without the Attorney General's Consent; tho' 'tis notorious, that both *Plunket*, the titular Irish Primate, and *Harris*,



*Harris* before spoken of, were both of them try'd a whole Term after they were arraign'd; tho' in both Cases the Attorney oppos'd it; and even here in the case of Treason, at the *Old Bayly* too, *Whitebread's* Tryal was put off to another Sessions. If 'tis pleaded, The Case is different, and that there was reason for the one, but not for the other: 'Twill be readily granted, — Tho' my Lords Evidence were not ready, theirs was — They had concerted business better, and just at that time News was brought hot into the House, That my Lord of *Essex* had this Morning prevented Justice, as has been before remarked in the Story of *Essex*; as also, That several of the Jury had said, They had never found *Ruffel* Guilty, had it not been for that Accident. And indeed, were that all in the Case, there would be still room for a great deal of Charity: For though that was no proper Evidence against the Prisoner, yet very few Persons in the World, perhaps, could have been found, whose Minds would have been so firm, and Reason so clear, as not to be, whether they wou'd or no, *hing'd* and *byass'd* by such a sudden report as this brought in among 'em, when they had no time to consider calmly of the matter; and this, no doubt, was very well known by those who order'd things in the manner before noted. But I say, 'twere to be wished, for the Honour of the English Nation, that this had been *all the foul play* in the case, and that there had not been so many thousand *Guinea's* imployed in this and other Tryals, as the great *Agitators* thereof have lately confess'd to have been. The Names of his Jury as I find them in Print are as follow:

John

John Martayn

William Rouse

Jervas Seaton

William Fashion

Thomas Short

George Toriano

William Butler

James Pickering

Thomas Feve

Hugh Noden

Robert Brough

Thomas Omeby.

When he found he must expect neither Favour nor Justice, as to the delaying of his Tryal, he excepted against the Fore-man of the Jury, because not a Freeholder; which for divers and sundry Reasons, almost, if not all the Judges having the happiness to light on different ones, and scarce any two on the same, was over-ruled, and given against him; though that same practice since declared and acknowledged one of the great Grievances of the Nation. His Indictment ran in these words, [*He did conspire and compass our Lord the King, his Supreme Lord, not only of his Kingly State, Title, Power, and Government of this his Kingdom of England to deprive and throw down; but also our said Sovereign Lord the King to kill, and to Death to bring and put, and the ancient Government of this Kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly subvert, and a miserable Slaughter among the Subjects of our said Lord the King, through his whole Kingdom of England to cause and procure, and Insurrection and Rebellion against our said Lord the King, to move, procure, and stir up within this Kingdom of England.*] And lower, [*He and divers others did consult, agree, and conclude Insurrection and Rebellion against our Sovereign Lord the King, to move and stir up, and the Guards for the preservation of the Person of our said Sovereign Lord the King to seize and destroy.*]

Now that all this was not intended as matter of Form

Form only, we may see by the Kings Councils opening the Evidence. The first says— [He was indicted for *no less* than conspiring the *Death of the Kings Majesty*; and that in order to the same, he and others did meet and conspire together, to bring our Sovereign Lord the King to Death, to raise War and Rebellion against him, and to massacre his Subjects—And in order to compass these wicked Designs, being assembled, did conspire to seize the Kings *Guards*, and his Majesty's Person : And this (he tells the Jury) is the charge against him.

The Attorney General melts it a little lower, and tells 'em the meaning of all these Tragical Words, were *A Consult about a Rising*—about seizing the *Guards*, and receiving *Messages* from E. of *Shaftsbury* concerning an Insurrection.

Nor yet does the proof against him come up so high even as this, though all care was used for that purpose, and kind Questions put very frequently, to lead and drive the Evidence; but one of them witnessing to any one Point.

The first of whom was Col. *Rumsey*, who swears, *That he was sent with a Message from Shaftsbury, who lay concealed at VVapping, to meet Lord Russel, Ferguson, &c. at Shepheard's, to know of them what Resolution they were come to about the Rising design'd at Taunton—That when he came thither, the Answer was made, Mr. Trenchard had fail'd 'em, and no more would be done in that business at that time. That Mr. Ferguson spoke the most part of that Answer, but my Lord Russel was present, and that he did speak about the Rising of Taunton, and consented to it. That the Company was discoursing also of viewing the Guards in order to surprize 'em, if the Rising had gone*  
on ;

on ; and that some undertook to view 'em ; and that the Lord Russel was by when this was undertaken. ] But this being the main Hinge of the business, and this VVitness not yet coming up to the purpose, they thought it convenient to give him a Jog to refresh his Memory, asking him, [VVhether he found my Lord Russel averse, or agreeing to it. ] VVho, no doubt, answer'd, *Agreeing*. But being afterwards in the Tryel ask'd, VVhether he could swear positively that my Lord Russel heard the *Message*, and gave any Answer to it? All that he says is this, [That when he came in, they were at the Fire side, but they all came from the Fire-side, to hear what he said. ]

All that *Shepherd* witnesses is, That my Lord Russel, &c. being at his House, there was a Discourse of surprizing the Kings Guards; and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* having viewed them when he came thither another time, said, They were remiss, and the thing was feizible, if there were Strength to do it, and that ( upon his being question'd too, as *Rumsey* before him ) Whether my Lord Russel was there? He says, He was, at that time they discours'd of seizing the Guards.

The next Witness was the florid Lord *Howard*, who very artificially begins low, being, forsooth, so terribly surprized with my Lord of *Essex's* Death, that his Voice fail'd him, till the Lord Chief Justice told him, the Jury could not hear him; in which very moment his voice returned again, and he told the reason why he spoke no louder. After a long Harangue of *Tropes and fine Words*, and dismal General Stories, by which, as my Lords Complains, the Jury were prepossessed

F

against

against him, he at last makes his Evidence bear directly upon the point for which he came thither— And swears, [That after my Lord *Shaftsbury* went away] their Party resolved still to carry on the design of the Insurrection without him; for the better management whereof they erected a little Cabal among themselves, which did consist of Six Persons, whereof my Lord *Russel* and himself were two: That they met for this purpose at Mr. *Hambden*'s House, and there adjusted the place and manner of the intended Insurrection: That about ten days after they had another meeting on the same business at my Lord *Russel*'s, where they resolved to send some Persons to engage *Argyle* and the *Scots* in the design—and (being ask'd too) that he was sure my Lord *Russel* was there.] Being ask'd whether he said any thing, he answer'd, [That every one knew him to be a Person of great Judgment, and not very lavish of Discourse.] Being again goaded on by *Jeffreys* with a—*But did he consent?* [We did (says he) put it to the Vote, it went without contradiction, and I took it that all there gave their consent.]

*West* swears, That *Ferguson* and Col. *Rumsey* told him, That my Lord *Russel* intended to go down and take his Post in the *West*, when Mr. *Trenchard* had fail'd 'em. Whose Hear-say-Evidence being not encouraged, *Jeffreys* ends very proudly, telling the Court, they would not use any thing of *Garniture*, but leave it as it was.

As for *Rumsey* the first VVitness. As to his *Person*—My Lord *Candish* proved on the Tryal, that my Lord *Russel* had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore 'twas not likely he would entrust him with such a Secret.

As



As to his *Evidence*, squeez'd out of him as it was, in both branches of the Design, seizing the Guards, and the Raising of *Taunton*, he says in gross and general, That he was agreeing to one, and spoke about and consented to the other. For his agreeing to the seizing the Guards, he might think as the Lord *Howard* does after, that *Silence* gives consent; for it appears not, nor does he swear, that my Lord spoke one word about it. But he himself, in his last Speech, which was not a *Jesuit's*, and which we have all the reason in the world to believe exactly true, since, as he himself says in it, [*He always detested Lying, though never so much for his advantage; and hoped none would be so unjust, or uncharitable to think he'd venture on it in these his last Words, for which he was so soon going to give an account to the great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of all things.*] In this last Speech he protests, that this time of which *Rumsey* swears, there was no undertaking of securing and seizing the Guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them, only some Discourse there was of the feasibility of it: He had heard it mentioned as a thing might easily be done, but never consented to as a thing fit to be done. Now I'd ask any man of Sense and Honour, who did but know my Lord *Russel*, let 'em be never so much his Enemy (if there were any such) which of these two they really judge most worthy to be believed? There is but one against one. *Rumsey*, who either swore upon, liking, for saving his Life, or was a *Trapan*, [That he was consenting to the seizing the Guards] Or my Lord *Russel* on his *Death* and *Salvation* solemnly affirming, [That he was so far from

consenting to any such thing, that there was not so much as any such Undertaking mentioned in the Company while he was with 'em.] Especially when 'tis observable, that *Rumsey* never instances in the terms in which he gave his *Consent*. The same is to be said of the other Branch of his Evidence, as to the Message of the *Insurrection*, which he says he brought into the Room, found the Lord *Russel* and the rest by the Fire; whence they all came to him, and heard his Message, and the Lord *Russel* discoursed of the subject on't, and consented to't. To all which let's again oppose not only what he answer'd in his Tryal, wherein he says, That he would swear he never heard, or knew of that Message which *Rumsey* says he brought to them; but also what he says in confirmation thereof in his Speech, [*I shall aver, that what I said of my not hearing Col. Rumsey deliver any Message from my Lord Shaftsbury, was true.*]

And a little before, [*When I came into the Room I saw Mr. Rumsey by the Chimney, tho he swears he came in after.*]

One thing more is observable, That when *West* came to give in his *Garniture-Evidence*, he runs in a Length further than *Rumsey*, and remembers *Rumsey* had told him, what it seems he himself had forgot, That on Mr. *Trenchard's* failing 'em, my Lord *Russel* was to go in his place, and take up Posts along in the *West*. And indeed had not *West* miss'd his *Cue*, and by imitating my Lord *Howard's* Example, begun first with *Hear-say*, he had made as stabbing an Evidence as 'ere a one of the other—Or had they but let him run to the end of his thrid, and take things methodically, as his Lordship did before him.

For

For *Shepherd*, all must grant he says not a Syllable to the purpose, or any thing which affects my Lord. He can hardly tell whether he was there when there was the Discourse of seizing the Guards, but speaks not a word of my Lord's hearing, or in the least-wise consenting thereunto.

As for my Lord *Howard*'s Evidence, we may, without *Scandalum Magnatum*, affirm that every Lord is not fit to make a *Privy Counsellor*; no, nor every witty Lord neither, especially in a Business of such a Concern. He does very well to say, the Council of six all chose themselves; for had not he given his own vote for himself, hardly any body else would have done it, since his Character is so notoriously different from that which he himself gives of my Lord *Russel*, [whom, he says, every one knew him to be a Person of great Judgment, and not very lavish of Discourse.] For his Evidence, he too is so happy to have a better Memory than *Rumsey*, as well as *West* had; and says, That the Duke of Monmouth told him, *Rumsey* had convey'd my Lord *Russel* to *Shaftsbury*, on whose persuasion the Insurrection was put off about a Fortnight longer. Of this *Rumsey* himself says not a Syllable.

He says further, That when they had enquir'd how Matters stood in the Country, and the Duke of Monmouth had found *Trenchard* and the West-Country fail'd them, on this 'twas put off again—and this about the 17th or 18th of October. Now this same Action *Rumsey* speaks of, but takes a larger Scope as to the Time, the end of October or beginning of November, far enough from the 17th or 18th of the Month before. *Rumsey* says, On this Disappointment of the Taunton men and *Trenchard*,

Shaftsbury resolv'd to be gone. Lord Howard, — *That he was so far from it, that he and his Party resolv'd to do it without the Lords, and had set one time and i' other, and at last, the 17th of Novemb. which also not taking effect, then Shaftsbury went off.* As to his Evidence, which was closer—the Story of the Council of Six, besides the former Improbability, that he among all the men in England shou'd be chosen one of em; 'tis remarkable, that in their former greater Consults at Shepherds, which he and Rumsey mention, the Lord Howard was never present, nor so much as touches on't in his Evidence; tho' here, if any where, the grand Affair of seizing the Guards, and the Answer to Shaftsbury about Taunton, was concerted. All that appears of truth in the Matter, seems to be what my Lord Russel acknowledges, — *That those Persons named met very often—that there was no form'd Design, but only loose talk about those Concerns. That there was no Debate of any such thing as was sworn, nor putting any thing in a Method: but my Lord Howard being a man of a voluble Tongue, and one who talkt very well, they were all delighted to hear him.*

Nor indeed does my Lord Howard positively swear, even supposing this form'd Consult to be true, that my Lord Russel actually consented to it, or discourf'd of it. Only — *That he was there—* and — *that he took it, and that he did give his consent.*

'Tis a very ill Cause that needs either a *Lye* or a *Cheat* to defend it. My Lord Russel himself being so ingenuous to acknowledge whatever of Truth, any that knew him will believe to be in his



his part of the Design, 'twould be an Injury to his Memory to do any otherwise. It appears then from his own acknowledgment, that *Howard, Armstrong*, and such others, had sometimes discours'd of ill Designs and Matters in his Company: And, as he says in his Speech, [*What the Heats, Wickedness, Passions, and Vanities of other Men had occasion'd, he ought not to be answerable for, nor cou'd he repress 'em.*] Nay more, he did sufficiently disapprove those things which he heard discours'd of with more Heat than Judgment. But for himself, declares solemnly again and again, *That he was never in any Design against the King's Life, or any Man's whatsoever, nor ever in any Contrivance of altering the Government.* If so, what then becomes of all the Story of the *Council of Six*? and is't not to be thrown among the same Lumber with the old famous *Nagshead Tavern* Business? 'Twill be still said he was an ill man, in being Guilty by this very Confession, of *Misprision of Treason*. — Supposing this true — That was not Death, and he dy'd, as he says, *Innocent of the Crime he stood condemn'd for.* And besides, every Lord has not Brow hard enough, nor Tongue long enough, nor Soul little enough to make an Informer against others to save his own Life? [*I hope, says he, no Body will imagine that so mean a thought could enter into me, as to go about to save my Life by accusing others.* The part that some have acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a rate.

But all this does not depend on his naked word, since the Evidence who swore against him, being such as were neither credible, nor indeed so much



as *legal* Witnesses, the Accusation of it self must fall to the ground. If *legal*, they were not *credible*, because, as my Lord *Delamere* observes in this Case, they had no Pardons, but hunted as the *Cormorant* does, with strings about their Necks, which *West* in his Answer to *Walcot's* Letter ingenuously acknowledges; and says, [*'Tis through God's and the King's Mercy he was not at the apparent point of Death.*] That is, in a fair construction, was not just turning over, but was upon trial, to see whether hee'd do Business, and deserve to scape hanging. Much such an honourable way of getting Pardon, as the Fellow who saved his own Neck by turning *Hangman*, and doing the good Office to his own Father.

Nor indeed was the great Witness, the *honourable Lord*, who cast this Noble Person, so much as a *legal*, any more than a *credible* Witness. No man alive has any way to clear himself from the most perjurd Villains Malice, if he swears against him Point-blank, but either by Circumstance of Time, or invalidating his very Evidence. Let any think of another way if they can. The first of these was precluded. 'Twas that which had before been made use of to *sham off* a truer Plot, and much more valid Evidence. But here *Rumsey* and the rest came to no determinate Time, but only *about such a time*; *about* the End of *October*, or beginning of *November*: and others cloud the precise time in so many words, that 'tis impossible to find it. All then that could be done, was as to the *Person*. Now what thing can be invented, which can more *invalidate* the Evidence any person gives, than his solemn, repeated, voluntary

huntary Oath, indubitably prov'd against him; that such a Person is innocent of that very Crime of which he afterwards accuses him? If this be the Case or no here, let any one read the following Depositions, and make an indifferent Judgment. My Lord *Anglesey* witnesses, *He was at the Earl of Bedford's, after his Son was imprisoned, where came in my Lord Howard, and began to comfort him, saying, He was happy in so wise a Son, and worthy a Person; and who could never be in such a Plot as that. That he knew nothing against him, or any body else, of such a barbarous Design.* But this was not upon Oath, and only related to the Assassination, as he says for himself in his *paring-distinction*. Look then a little lower to Dr. *Burnet*, whom the Lord Howard was with the night after the Plot broke out, and then, as well as once before, with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, did say, *He knew nothing of ANY Plot, nor believ'd ANY.* Here's the most solemn Oath, as he himself confesses voluntarily, nay unnecessarily, tho' perhaps in my Lord Bedford's Case, Good-nature might work upon him. Here's the *paring* of his *Apple* broke all to pieces. No shadow, no room left for his *Distinction* between the *Insurrection* and *Assassination*, but without any guard or mitigation at all, he solemnly swears, he *knew* not of *ANY* Plot, nor believed *ANY*.

But 'twas no great matter, for the Jury were resolv'd to *know* and *believe* it, whether he did or no.

There's but one little *Subterfuge* more, and the Case is clear. All this Perjury, all these solemn *Asservations* he tells us were only to *bracken* out the

the Plot, and to *out-face* the Thing for himself and Party. This he fairly acknowledges; and let all the World be the Jury, whether they'd destroy one of the bravest men in it, on the Evidence of such a Person? But there's yet a further Answer. His Cousin, Mr. *Howard*, who was my Lord's intimate Friend, who secur'd him in his House, to whom he might open his Soul, and to whom it seems he did, he having made Application to *Ministers of State* in his Name, that he was willing to serve the King, and gives him *Satisfaction*; — To him, I say, with whom he had *secret Negotiations*, and that of such a Nature — will any believe that he wou'd *out-face* the Thing here too? That he wou'd *Perjure* himself for nothing, where no danger, no good came on't? No certainly, his Lordship had more Wit, and Conscience, and Honour; he ought to be *vindicated* from such an Imputation, even for the credit of his main Evidence; for my Lord *Gray*, he tells us, was left out of *their Councils* for his Immoralities; and had he himself been such a sort of a man, those piercing Heads in the Council wou'd have certainly found him out before, and never admitted him among them. As for the very Thing, Mr. *Howard* tells it as generously, and with as much honest Indignation as possible, in spite of the Checks the Court gave him. [He took it, says he, upon his Honour, his Faith, and as much as if he had taken an Oath before a Magistrate, that he knew nothing of any Man concern'd in this Business — and particularly of the Lord *Russel*; of whom, he added, that he thought he did unjustly suffer.] So that if he had the same Soul on Monday, that he had on Sunday (the very day before)

fore) this cou'd not be true that he swore against the Lord *Russel*. My Lord *Russel's* suffering, was Imprisonment, and that for the same matter on which he was try'd, the *Insurrection*, not the *Assassination*. If my Lord *Howard* knew him Guilty of that for which he was committed, tho' not the other, how cou'd he then say 'twas unjustly done?

After all this, 'twoud be almost superfluous to go any further, or insert the Evidence given by Dr. *Tillotson*, *Burnet*, *Cox*, and others, not only of his vertuous and honourable Behaviour, but especially of his Judgment about any Stirs, or Popular Insurrections, — That he was absolutely against 'em, — that 'twas folly and madness till things came to be regulated in a Parliamentary way, and that he thought 'twoud ruin the best Cause in the World to take any such ways to preserve it.

All this and more wou'd not do, Dye he must, the Duke order'd it, the Witnesses swore it, the Judges directed it, the Jury found 'it; and when the Sentence came to be pass'd, the Judge ask'd, as is usual, *What he had to say why it should not be pronounc'd?* He answer'd, *That whereas he had been charg'd in the Indictment which was then read to him, with Conspiring the Death of the King, which he had not taken notice of before, he appeal'd to the Judge and Court whether he were Guilty within the Statute on which he was try'd, the Witnesses having sworn an Intention of levying War, but not of Killing the King, of which there was no proof by any one Witness.* The Recorder told him, *That was an Exception proper, and as he thought, his Lordship did make it before the Verdict.* Whether the Evidence  
did

*did amount to prove the Charge, was to be observ'd by the Jury; for if the Evidence came short of the Indictment, they cou'd not find it to be a true Charge; but when once they had found it, their Verdict did pass for Truth, and the Court was bound by it as well as his Lordship, and they were to go according to what the Jury had found, not their Evidence. Now I'd fain know, what's the reason of the Prisoners being ask'd that Question, What he has to say for himself? Is't only Formality, or Banter? He makes an Exception, which the Judge himself confesses proper. But who was Counsel for the Prisoner, Is not the Bench? or, does it not pretend to be so? and why was not this observ'd by them in their Direction to the Jury? The Recorder seems to grant it fairly, that the Evidence did not prove the Charge, and says, the Court was to go, Not according to the Evidence. Well, Evidence, or none, the Truth is, was not the Question; for being found Guilty, Sentence pass'd upon him—whence he was removed to Newgate. While he was there, the Importunity of his Friends, as he says handsomly in his Speech, lest they shou'd think him sullen or stubborn, prevail'd with him to sign Petitions, and make an Address for his Life, tho' 'twas not without difficulty that he did any thing that was begging to save it. But with how much Success, it may easily be guess'd by any who knew the Duke's temper; nor is it forgotten how barbarously his Lady and Children were repuls'd, and the King's good Nature not suffer'd to save one of the best men in his Kingdom. Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson were with him much of the time between his Sentence and Death: where to the last, he own'd that Doctrine, which other good men,*



men who were then of another Judgment, have since been set into, namely, the lawfulness of Resistance, against unlawful Violence, from whomsoever it be. NB.

After the fruitless Applications for his Pardon; after a Farewel and last Adieu in this World, to one of the best of Women, who stood by him, and assisted him in his Trial, and left him not till now, he at last on Saturday the 21<sup>st</sup> of October went into his own Coach about Nine a Clock, with Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet; whence he was carried to Great Lincolns-Inn-Fields to the Scaffold prepar'd for him, where, among all the numerous Spectators, he was one of the most unconcern'd Persons there; and very few rejoyc'd at so doleful a Spectacle, but the Papists, who indeed had sufficient reason; my Lord Powis's People expressing, as 'tis said, a great deal of Pleasure and Satisfaction. There, after he had again solemnly protested his Innocency, and that he was far from any Design against the King's Person, or of altering the Government: Nay, That he did upon the words of a dying man, profess, that he knew of no Plot against the King's Life, or Government; And delivering one of the finest Speeches in the World to the Sheriff, he prayed by himself, and with Dr. Tillotson's assistance; and embracing him and Dr. Burnet, he submitted to the fatal strokes, for the Executioner took no less than three before he cou'd sever his Head, which when 'twas held up, as usual, there was so far from being any shout, that a considerable Groan was heard round the Scaffold. His Body was given to his Friends, and convey'd to Cheney's in Buckinghamshire, where 'twas buried among his Ancestors. There was a great

A great Storm, and many loud Claps of Thunder the day of his Martyrdom. An Elegy was made on him immediately after his Death, which seems by what we have of it, to be writ with some Spirit, and a great deal of Truth and Good-will; only this Fragment on't cou'd be retriev'd, which yet may not be unwelcom to the Reader.

'Tis done—be's crown'd, and one bright Martyr more  
Black Rome, is charg'd on thy too bulky score.

All like himself be mov'd, so calm, so free,

A general Whisper question'd—Which is He?

Deck like a Lover, tho' pale Death's his Bride,

He came, and saw, and overcame, and dy'd.

Earth wept, and all the vainly pining Croud:

But Heaven his Death in Thunder groan'd aloud—

The rest are lost—But he has better Justice done him by this honourable Parliament; and if the World shou'd possibly be so malicious and silly, in after Ages, as some are in this, and ask, *What have they done since their Meeting?* Had we not a Nation sav'd, Peace preserv'd, and many other almost Miracles to answer 'em; yet this one thing wou'd be sufficient, That in this Sessions, they had *Reversed the Judgment* against this vertuous, pious, and honourable Lord.

For his Character, if we'll believe the best men, and those who knew him best, 'tis one of the most advantagious the Age, or indeed, our Nation has yielded: Those are great words which Mr. Levi-ston Gower speaks of him on his Trial, but yet not a Syllable too big for his Merit, tho' they are very expressive of it.—That he was one of the best

Sons,

Sons, the best Fathers, the best Husbands, the best Masters, the best Friends, and the best Christians. By others, That he was a most vertuous, prudent, and pious Gentleman. — A man of that vertue, that none who knew him could think him guilty of such a Conspiracy. — A man of great Honour, and too prudent to be concern'd in so vile and desperate a design. — A Person of great Vertue and Integrity. — One, whom those he had long conversed with, never heard utter so much as a word of Indecency against the King. And others of the highest Quality, who had been often in his Company, say, That they had never heard any thing from him, but what was honourable, just and loyal.

His Person was tall and proper; his Temper even and agreeable, and such as rendred his vertues even more lovely than they did him. His Piety and Devotion, as unaffected, and yet as remarkable as his Love to the Church of England. The true Church of England, as he himself calls it, not those Tumours and Wens that grow upon it, and pretended to be not only parts, but all of it in our late bad times; to whose Heights and Extravagances he thinks it no shame in his Speech to confess he could never rise. He was of a noble Courage, which he did not express by Quarrels or Duelling, but serving his Country at Sea in the most dangerous Wars, and at Land in the Parliament, in more dangerous Councils and Debates. He was there a true Englishman — still the same; you knew where he would be, for he never mov'd. A strenuous Asserter and Defender of his Country's Religion and Rights against all Opposers, and that in a Lawful and Parliamentary Method.

He

He spoke little there, but always very home, and much to the purpose—And that was as true a Character of him formerly recited, as if it had come from a better man, *That every one knew the Lord Russel to be a person of great Judgment, and not very lavish of Discourse.* Lastly, which will give no small heightening to his Character, *He had Mr. Johnson to his Chaplain, a man of great Learning, civility, &c. But as friend to the Church of England.*

### Captain Walcut, &c.

Captain Walcut and his Fellow-sufferers, in order of time, should have gone first, he being convicted before my Lord Russel, and executed the Friday, as he on Saturday. But my Lord Russel's Fate having so immediate a dependance on the Earl of Essex's, and all the Plot hanging on him; especially they two making the greatest Figure of any who suffer'd on this occasion; it look'd more proper and natural to begin with them, and reserve the other to this place. Captain Walcut was a Gentleman of a considerable Estate in Ireland, but more remarkable for the rare happiness of having Eight Children all at once living, and most of all, for his Love to his Country, which cost him his Life. We can have but little dependance, as has been before hinted, on the publick Papers relating to these concerns; especially in his Case, where Cartwright was engaged. What appears to us, and we may believe most reasonable, and what's agreed on of all hands, is—*That West, Rumsey, and I think one more of 'em,*

'em, had frequent *Discourses*, at least, of killing the King and Duke—so horrid and barbarous a thing, and so like the Practice and Principles of those worst of men, the *Papists*; that as every true Englishman, and good Christian must needs conceive a detestation and horror at the very mention of it; so no doubt, it will be very acceptable to such to find when the thing is enquired closely into, which has partly been done before, and shall now be finished, to find no probability of any thing real in the bottom, none engaged in it, but two or three Knaves, and one Fool. No Person of Honor or Character, who had heard so much as any Discourse of it, but what immediately disapproved, or detested it, as much as every good Man ought to do: Tho some of 'em, if there were more than *Walcot*, might hear such mad Discourse, as my Lord *Russel* says, the wickedness, passions, and vanities of other men might have occasion'd; and yet not believing any thing in it more than words, nor think they were obliged to turn Informers and Hangmen; which because they did not do, they *suffer'd* themselves. And this any reasonable man will, I doubt not, upon a little free thinking, acknowledge to be *Walcot's* Case, and no further. The pretended Crime for which *Walcot* sufferd, and which *West* and others witness against him, was—Consulting the Death of the King, and charging the Guards, at his return from *New-market*, while the dreadful Blunderbus was to be fired into the Coach by *Rumbald*, or some others. His Privacy to Discourses about the Kings Death was but *Misprision*. For his *acting* in it, they could not have pitch'd on



a more unlikely man to command a Party in so desperate an Attempt as charging the Guards, than one that was sick and Bed-rid of the Gout, as about this time, and often besides the Captain was. Nor seems *West's* pretence more likely— That he refused to be actual in the *Assassination*, because of the *baseness* of it, but offer'd to charge the Guards, while others did it— much as wisely and tenderly, as if he had denied to cut a Man's Throat, but consented to hold his hands while others did it. This he denies with indignation in his Speech, and [Appeals to all that knew him, Whether they thought him such an *Ideot*, that he should not understand 'twas the same thing to engage the Kings Guards, whilst others kill'd him; or to kill him with his own hands?] Here then 'tis plain, lies the pinch of the matter; *West* and *Rumsey, &c.* had been frequently discoursing at that bloody villanous rate; *West* was most impatiently eager of having it done— He propos'd the Lopping 'em at a Play, which he said would be [in their own calling.]

For some of those who are charged with this foul business, as Promoters, or so much as Approvers thereof, were the innocent or guilty as to that particular. I can assure the Reader I have the same thought of 'em, that *Juvenal* had of *Sejanus*, and can say as he does, *Nunquam si quid mihi credis, amavi.* But however one may add as he does, *Sed quo accidit sub crimine? Quisnam Delator? Quibus indiciis? Quo teste?* and almost resolve all these Questions to the same way, with a—*Nil horum.* Never was any Party without many ill Men— This no doubt, had too many whose ill Lives both dis-  
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credited, and in probability, ruin'd the best Cause in the World, as my Lord *Ruffel* intimated in his Speech. Some of these, *not having the fear of God before their Eyes*, might have such traitterous Designs; nay, and by their own Confession, it appears they had so—But let's not however be hurried away in a popular Stream, which generally runs very *muddy*, to condemn those, who, whatever personal Faults they may have had, how turbulent their Nature, or bad their Morals, or ill their Character, yet seem to be no way concerned in so bloody and barbarous a Conspiracy, how home soever it might be charg'd upon 'em. *West* and *Rumsey* were the main Pillars, and almost only Witnesses on which the Credit of that Action depended, who appear all through the great and almost sole Managers thereof, and who accuse others for being concerned in it. What and how much their Credit weighs, we have already hinted, but shall yet confront it with further Testimonies relating to this matter, and that of *dying men*, who could expect no pardons in this World, nor 'tother for a Falshood. Besides, *Rumbold's* solemn Protestation; see *Walcot's* Speech and Paper, wherein he as deeply affirms as a man can do, [*That West bought Arms for this Villanous Design, (which can't be express'd with Detestation enough) without any direction of his—nay, without any Direction, Knowledge, or Privy of his.*] *West* says in his Answer to this, as well as in his Evidence, [*That Walcot joyn'd in the direction about the nature and size of those Arms; that he was very Intimate and Familiar with this Rumbold, who was to be the principal Actor in the Assassination.*] But

*Rumbold's* Death before recited, clears himself, and *Walcot*, and shews us what *West* is. In another place he affirms—That *Walcot* told him *Ferguson* had the chief management of the intended Assassination. *Rumbold's* hard name, as has been said already, *Ferguson's* Ill Name, and the absence of 'em both, brought 'em in all probability into the business ; and *Walcot's* being *past answering* for himself or them, made it very advisable to charge so much on him. So in the same nature *Ferguson* was the Author of that Expression *Walcot* had from *West*, —*Ferguson* undertook for the Duke of *Monmouth*, —*Ferguson* proposed to see for an opportunity between *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court*—The Men to commit the Assassination were all provided by *Ferguson*, *Rumbold*, &c. And I remember another of 'em, or he himself talks of *fifty men* engag'd for the very Action. Now as meer *Good Nature*, and the Love I have to my Countrymen will never suffer me to believe there could be so many *Englishmen* found, and Protestants too, who would consent to kill their King ; never any one having acknowledged such a design besides poor *Hone*, who was so stupid, he could not give one sensible *Answer* to what *Cartwright* ask'd him at his Death : So plain Testimony, and Dint of Fact and Reason, forces me to conclude these Persons here charged were not guilty. See what *Rouse* says of it—He was told, they did not intend to spill so much as one drop of blood. But most particularly *Holloway*, [He could not perceive *Ferguson* knew any thing of the *New-Market* design, but *Rumsey* and *West* were deep in't.] Again, [*Holloway* ask'd *West* who was to act the Assassination ? To which he could give but

but a slender Answer, and could, or would name but *Two Men*, *Rumbold* and his Brother.] Just such probable stuff as *Colledges* seizing the King by himself at *Oxford*, [So that (he goes on) we found they had but few Men, if more than two, and no Horses, only a parcel of Arms he shew'd at a Gunsmith's]. And lower, at another time, [*West* only named *Rumsey* and *Rich. Goodenough* as concerned in the Assassination—*West* again proposed the Assassination, but none seconded him—*Rumsey* was for the old Strain of killing the King, to which *not one* consented—He could never find above five concerned in it—He heard *Walcot* speak against it—I knew *Ferguson* to be against any such Design.

Upon the whole, the World is left to its Liberty to believe, at least Three Dying Mens Affeuerations, against those who so plainly swore others Necks into the Halter, to get their own out, that *West* himself is not ashamed to own in his forementioned Answer, That he was still in danger of Death, though not so eminent as it had been; not, at the apparent point of Death. And at the close of this Paper —If it shall please the King to spare my Life for my Confession, it is a great happiness, &c. which part of his Evidence every body will easily believe.

From all which, here lies a fair Supposition of the Innocency of this Captain, and others, of what they were Accus'd, found Guilty, Sentenc'd, and Dy'd for; it being on *West's* Evidence, and such as his, that he and others were Arraign'd and Condemn'd; the Captains Defence being much the same with what he says in his Speech.

With him was try'd *Rouse*, who was charg'd with such a parcel of mad *Romance* as was scarce ever heard of; and one wou'd wonder how Perjury and Malice, which use to be *sober* sins, cou'd even be so extravagant as to hit on't. He was to seize the *Tower*, pay the Rabble, *uncase* the Aldermen, to be Pay-master and Flea-master General, and a great deal more to the same Tune. In his Defence he says no great Matter, but yet what looks a thousand times more like Truth than his Accusation; *That the Tower Business was only discourse of the feasibility of the thing, (as Russel's about the Guards) but without the least intent of bringing it to action; That all he was concern'd in any real Design, he had from Lea, and was getting more out of him, with an intention to make a Discovery.* But it seems *Lea* got the whip-hand of him; they were both at a kind of *Haltar-Combat*; *Rous's* foot slipt, and *Lea* turn'd him over, and sav'd his own Neck.

*Hone* was accused, and owns himself Guilty of a Design to Kill the King and the Duke of York, or one, or neither, for 'tis impossible to make any Sense of him. When they came to suffer, *Walcot* read a Paper, in which was a good rational Confession of his Faith; Then comes to the Occasion of his Death, for which, he says, *he neither blames the Judges, Jury, nor Council, but only some men, that in reality were deeper concern'd than he, who combin'd together to swear him out of his Life to save their own, and that they might do it effectually, contriv'd an untruth, &c.* He forgives the World and the Witnesses: Gives his Friends advice to be more prudent than he had been; prays that his may be the last



last Blood spilt on that account; wishes the King wou'd be merciful to others; says he knew nothing of Ireland, and concludes, with praying God to have mercy upon him. He had then some Discourse with Cartwright wherein he tells him, That he was not for contriving the Death of the King, nor to have had a Hand in't: and being urg'd with some Matters of Controversie, tells him, He did not come thither to dispute about Religion, but to dye Religiously.

The next was Hone; But tho' dying be a serious Business, yet 'tis almost impossible to read his Discourse with the Dean, without as violent temptations to laughter as Compassion. Never was so exact an Imitation of the Scene of the Fisherman and Kings in the Rehearsal, when he tells 'em Prince Pretty-man kill'd Prince Pretty-man. One wou'd think him very near in the same Case with Bateman, who came after him. His Replies are so incongruous, that there's hardly either Sense or English to be made out of 'em. But the poor Fellow talks of Snares and Circumstances, and no body knows what, and says in one Line, He was to meet the King and Duke of York, but he did not know when, where, nor for what: In the next, he was for killing the King, and saving the Duke, and when askt the Reason, answers, the only sensible thing he said all through, That he knew no Reason, that he did not know what to say to't. And when the Dean charges him with the Murderous Design, — That he knew as little of it as any poor silly man in the World.

Rouse comes next, gives an Account of his Faith, professing to dye of the Church of England, tells his former Employment and manner of Life

acknowledges he heard of Clubs and Designs, but was never at 'em, and a perfect Stranger to any thing of that Nature. Gives a Relation of what past between him and his Majesty on his Apprehension. Talks somewhat of Sir *Thomas Player*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and accommodating the King's Son, as he calls it, tho' not while the King reign'd. Then falls upon *Lea*, and the Discourse they had together, who, as he says, swore against him on the Trial those very words he himself had used in pressing him to undertake the Design. Speaks of a Silver *Ball* which he proposed to be thrown up on *Black-Heath*, and after some Discourse with the *Ordinary*, gives the Spectators some good Counsel. Then they all three singly prayed; and then the Sentence was Executed upon 'em.

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### *Algernon Sidney, Esq;*

THE next *Victim* to *Popish* Cruelty and Malice, was, Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, of the ancient and noble Name and Family of the *Sidneys*, deservedly famous to the utmost bounds of *Europe*; who, as the ingenious Mr. *Hawles* observes, was meerly talkt to death, under the notion of a Commonwealths Man, and found Guilty by a Jury who were not much more proper Judges of the Case, than they wou'd have been had he writ in *Greek* or *Arabic*. He was arraign'd for a Branch of this Plot at

at Westminster the 17th of Novemb. 1683. where, tho' it cannot be said the Grand Jury *knew not* what they did, when they found the Bill against him, since no doubt they were well *instructed* what to do; yet it must, that they *found* it almost before they knew *what 'twas*, being so well resolv'd on the Case, and agreed on their Verdict, that had he been Indicted for breaking up an House, or robbing on the High-way, 'twas doom'd to have been *Billa vera*, as much as 'twas now. For tho the Indictment was never presented to 'em before they came into the Hall, yet they immediately *found* it: The Substance whereof was, [*For a Conspiracy to Depose the King and stirring up Rebellion, and writing a Libel for that purpose.*] The most part of the Evidence brought against him, was only Hearsay, as against my Lord *Russel*; nay, *West* whose Evidence was *then* refused, now *was* admitted to tell a long Story of what he had from one and t'other. *Rumsey's* was much of the same Nature. In the Reer came that never *failing Evidence* the Lord *Howard*, who Witnesses he was one of the *Council of Six*, and engaged one of the deepest in their Consults. And more than that, exercises his own Faculty very handsomly, in an account of two Speeches *Mr. Hamden* made on the Occasion, which indeed were such fine things, that some might think it worth the while to swear against a man, only to have the Reputation of reciting 'em; and whom they are most like, *Mr. Hamden*, or my Lord's own *witty self*, let any man judge.

The next Evidence was a *Paper*, said to be of the Prisoners writing, which was found in his Study.

Study. The Substance of which was an Enquiry into the Forms of Government, and Reasons of their Decays : The Rights of the People, and Bounds of Sovereignty, and Original of Power. In which were those heinous, treasonable Expressions, [*The King is subject to the Law of God as a Man, to the People who made him such, as a King, &c.*] And Examples of evil Kings and Tyrants, whom sometimes a Popular Fury had destroy'd; at others, the *Ordines Regni* either reduc'd, or set them aside, when their Government was a *Curse* instead of a *Blessing* to their People. Well, what Treason to be found in all this, and a great deal more? Nothing but a Jesuits enchanted Telescope cou'd have found any in it. If there were any *Mistakes*, as he says in his Speech, they ought to have been confuted by Law, Reason, and Scripture, not Scaffolds and Axes. First, 'Twas not proved to be his Writing, nor did he confess it; Treason and Life are *critical* things: one ought to be as fairly prov'd, as t'other to be cautiously proceeded against. Tho' he might write it, he had the Liberty of an *English man*, not to accuse himself: the very same thing which was afterwards put in practice by those Reverend Persons, who, later then he, and cheaper too, defended their Countries Liberty with only the loss of their own. But owning he writ it, How very few, if any things therein are not now generally and almost universally believ'd, and are the foundation of the *practice*, and satisfaction of the *Conscience* of every man, tho' then confuted with the single Brand of Commonwealth Principles, being indeed such as all the World must, whether they will or no, be forc'd

forc'd into the belief of, as soon as Oppression and Tyranny bears hard upon 'em, and becomes really unsupportable. But supposing they were now as wicked Principles as they were (call'd) then; yet what was that to the then present Governours? He answer'd *Filmer* for his own satisfaction, or rather began to do it, many years before the Makers of this Plot dreamt of that, or bringing him into it: Kept it private in his own Study, where it might have lain till *Dooms-day*, had not they fetch'd it out to make somewhat on't. 'Twas suggested, and *Innuendo'd* that this Book was written to scatter among the People in order to dispose 'em to rebel, as 'tis in the *Indictment*. But how ridiculous that is, any one will see who considers the Bulk of it, which was such that, as he says in his speech, [*The fiftieth part of the Book was not produced, nor the Tenth of that read, tho' he desired it, and 'twas usual; and yet after all, as it had never been shewn to any man, so 'twas not finish'd, nor cou'd be in many years.*] Now is this a business likely to be calculated for a Rebellion; when it cou'd neither be finish'd till several years after 'twas over; and besides, if it had, the Bulk made it so improper to be dispers'd for that purpose for which 'twas pretendedly design'd? No, those who are to poison a Nation in that manner, know better things, and more likely ways. 'Tis to be done in little *Pamphlets*, and Papers easily read over, understood, and remembred, as the *Declaration-Gentlemen* t'other day, very well knew. But still here being not a Syllable in these Papers of King *Charles*, any more than of the King of *Bantam*, or the Great *Mogul*, against whom



whom they might as well have made it Treason; 'twas all supply'd by a fine knack, call'd an *Innuendo*, that is, in English, such Interpretation as they'd please to affix on his words. Thus when he writes *Tarquin*, or *Pepin*, or *Nero*, they say, he meant King *Charles*; and so, scandalously of *him*, as well as wickedly of the *Gentleman*, make a Monster and a Ravisher of their King, and then take away anothers Life for doing it. There was a Minister I have somewhere read of, who was accused for writing a Libel against Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Government; and the Fact there, 'tis true, lay, as this does, upon *Innuendo's*, tho' much more plain and pregnant. —But all the Punishment inflicted on him, tho' that thought severe enough, reached not his *Head*, the loss of his *Hand* being thought sufficient, while with that which was left, he pulled off his Hat, and prayed God to bless the Queen. —But this was under a mild Reign, and truly Protestant Government.

As for my Lord *Howard's* Evidence, had the *Jury* been any but such as they were, and *Sidney* describes them, they would not have hang'd a *Jesuit* upon the credit on't; he having, one would think, that read the Tryals, taken a pride in *damning* himself deeper and deeper against every new appearance in publick, on purpose to try the *skill* and *face* of the Council in bringing him off again. —To the Evidence brought against him in my Lord *Russel's* Case, he had taken care that these following should be added.

The E. of *Clare* witnesses, that he said, after *Sidney's* Imprisonment, if question'd again, He would *never* plead—(Had it not been a pleasant thing,

thing for my Lord *Howard* to have been press'd to death for not speaking ?) and that he thought Colonel *Sidney* as innocent as any man breathing: Mr. *Ducas* says the same, so does my Lord *Paget*, and Mr. *Edward*, and *Philip Howards*, and *Tracy*, and *Perwick*, and Mr. *Blake*, that he said he had not his *Pardon*, (and could not ascribe it to any Reason, but that he must not have it till the *Drudgery* of swearing was over.) — — — *note*

But though there was no reasonable Answer could be given to all this ; tho *Sidney* pleaded the Obligations my Lord *Howard* had to him, and the great *Conveniency* he might think there might be in his being hang'd, since he was some hundreds of Pounds in his *Debt*, which would be the readiest way of paying him ; and had besides, as it appeared, a great mind to have the Collonel's *Plate* secured at his own House ; tho never Man in the world certainly ever talk't stronger Sense, or better Reason, or more evidently batter'd the the Judges, and left 'em nothing but *Railing*. — 'Twas all a case with him, as well as the others ; and the *petty Jury* could as easily have found him Guilty, without hearing his Tryal, as the *Grand Jury* did as soon as 'ere they saw the *Bill*. Never was any thing more base and barbarous, than the summing up the Evidence and Directions to the *Jury*, who yet stood in no great need of 'em : Nor more uncivil and sawcy a Reflection on the Noble Family and Name of the *Sidneys*, than the Judges saying — That he was *born a Traitor*. Never any thing braver or more manly than his *Remonstrance* to the K. for Justice, and another Tryal : Nor lastly, more *Roman*, and yet truly *Christian* than his end. The  
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brave Old Man came up on a Scaffold, as unconcern'd as if he had been going to *fight*, and as lively as if he had been a *Russel*. In his last Speech he gives almost all the substance of all those Books which have been lately written in the Defence of the *late Transactions*, and no disgrace to 'em neither; since Truth and Reason are eternal, and one and the same from all Pens and Parties, and at all times, however there may be some times so bad, that they wont bear *some Reason*, any more than *some Doctrine*. — He there says as much in a little as ever Man did — [*That Magistrates were set up for the Good of Nations, not e contra.*] (If that be Treason, King Charles the first is guilty on't against himself, who says the same thing.) *That the Power of Magistrates is what the Laws of the Country make it: That those Laws and Oaths have the force of a Contract, and if one part is broken, t' other ceases.*] And other Maxims of the same necessity and usefulness. — He besides this, gave a full account of the Design of his Book, of his Tryal, and the Injustice done him therein; of the Jury's being *packt*, and important points of Law *over-ruled*; and ends with a most compendious Prayer, in which he desires God would *forgive* his Enemies, but keep 'em from doing any more mischief. — And then he laid down his *Head*, and went to *Sleep*.

### *His Character.*

There's no need of any more than reading his Tryal and Speech, to know him as well

as if he stood before us. That he was a Person of extraordinary Sense, and very *close thinking*, which he had the happiness of being able to express in *words* as manly and apposite as the *Sense* included under 'em. He was owner of as much Vertue and Religion, as Sense and Reason; tho his *Piety* lay as far from Enthusiasm as any mans. He *feard* nothing but God, and *lov'd* nothing on Earth, like his Country, and the just Liberties and Laws thereof, whose Constitutions he had deeply and successfully inquired into. To sum up all, He had *Piety* enough for a Saint, *Courage* enough for a General or a Martyr, *Sense* enough for a Privy-Counsellor, and *Soul* enough for a King; and in a word, if ever any, he was a perfect *Englishman*.

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### Mr. *James Holloway*.

**M**R. *Holloway* was by Trade a *Merchant*; but his greatest dealing lay in Linen *Manufacture*, which, as appears from his Papers, he had brought to such a height here in *England*, as, had it met with suitable encouragement, would, as he made it appear, have imployed 80000 poor People, and 40000 Acres of Land, and be 200000 Pounds a year advantage to the Publick Revenues of the Kingdom. The Return of the *Habeas Corpus* Writ calls him, [*Late of London, Merchant*] though he lived mostly at *Bristol*. He seems to be a Person of Sense, Courage, and Vivacity of Spirit,

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Spirit, and a Man of Business. — All we can have of him is from that public Print, called his Narrative concerning which it must be remembred, as before, that we have no very firm Authority to assure us all therein contained was his own writing; and perhaps it might be thought convenient he should die, for fear he might contradict some things published in his Name. But on the other side, where he contradicts the other Witnesses his Evidence is strong, since be sure that was not the Interest of the Managers to invent of their own accords; tho' some Truth they might utter, tho' displeasing, to gain credit to the rest. Taking things however as we find 'em, 'twill be convenient for method sake to take notice first of the proceedings against him, then of some pretty plain footsteps of *practice* upon him, and shuffling dealing in his Case; and lastly, of several things considerable in his *Narrative*:

He was accused for the Plot, as one who was acquainted with *West*, *Rumsey*, and the rest; and having been really present at their meetings, and Discourses on that Subject, absconded when the publick News concerning the Discovery came into the Country; tho' this, as he tells the King, more for fear that if he was taken up, his Creditors would never let him come out of Goal, than any thing else. After some time he got to Sea in a little Vessel, went over to *France*, and so to the *West-Indies*, among the *Caribbe-Islands*, where much of his Concerns lay: But writing to his Factor at *Nevis*, he was by him treacherously betray'd, and seiz'd by the Order of Sir *William Stapleton*, and thence brought Prisoner to *England*,



land, where after Examination, and a Confession of at least all he knew, having been *Outlawed* in his Absence on an Indictment of Treason; he was on the 21<sup>st</sup> of April, 1684. brought to the Kings Bench, to shew cause why Execution should not be awarded against him, as is usual in that case: He opposed nothing against it, only saying, [ *If an ingenuous Confession of Truth could merit the Kings Pardon, he hoped he had done it.* ] The Attorney being call'd for, order'd the Indictment to be read, and gave him the Offer of a Tryal, waving the *Outlawry*, which he refused, and threw himself on the Kings Mercy. On which Execution was awarded, tho the Attorney, who had not so much Law even as *Jeffreys*, was for having Judgment first past against him, which is never done in such cases, according to which he was executed at *Tyburn* the 30<sup>th</sup> of April.

It seem'd strange to all Men, that a Man of so much Spirit as Mr. *Holloway* appear'd to be, should so tamely die without making any manner of Defence, when that Liberty was granted him: It seem'd as strange, or yet stranger, that any Protestant should have any thing that look'd like Mercy or Favour from the Persons then at the Helm, [ That they should be so gracious to him, as 'tis there call'd, to admit him to a Tryal, which look'd so generously, and was so cry'd up—the Attorney calling it [ *A Mercy and a Grace* ] and the Lord Chief Justice saying, *He'd assure him 'twas a great Mercy, and that it was exceeding well.* Now all this Blind or Mystery will be easily unriddled, by two or three Lines which *Holloway* speaks just after, [ *My Lord, says he, I cannot undertake to de-*

*send my self, for I have confessed before his Majesty, that I am guilty of many things in that Indictment.*] Which was immediately made use of as 'twas design'd—Good Mr. Justice *Withens* crying out full mouth'd, [*I hope every body here will take notice of his open Confession, when he might try it if he would—Surely none but will believe this Conspiracy now, after what this man has own'd.*] So there's an end of all the Mercy—A Man who had before confessed in order to be hang'd, had gracious Liberty given him to confess it again in Publick, because they knew he had precluded all manner of Defence before, and this publick Action would both get 'em the repute of Clemency, and confirm the belief of the Plot. Now that there had been practice us'd with him, and promises of pardon if he'd take this method, and own himself guilty without Pleading, is more than probable, both from other Practices of the same Nature used towards Greater Men, and from some Expressions of his which look exceeding fair that way. Thus in his Paper left behind him, [*I had, he says, some other Reasons why I did not plead, which at present I conceal, as also why I did not speak what I intended.*] Other Reasons, besides his Confession to his Majesty, and Reasons to be conceal'd: Now what should those be, but Threatnings and Promises, to induce him to silence, and publick acknowledgment of all? Which appears yet plainer from another Passage, [*I am satisfied that all means which could be thought on have been used, to get as much out of me as possible.*] If all means, then without straining, those before mentioned.

But if he made so fair and large an acknowledgment, here's more Mystery still, Why wan't his Life spar'd? Let any read his Confession and Speech, or these Passages observed out of them, and he'll no longer wonder at it. He was a little *squeasie Conscienc'd*, and would not strain so far as others in accusing men of those black Crimes whereof they were innocent; nay, as was before said, vindicating them from those *Aspersions* cast upon them, and for which some of them, particularly my Lord *Russel*, suffer'd Death. He says [*The Assassination was carry'd on but by three or four, and could never hear so much as the Names of above Five for it——That he and others had declared their abhorrence of any such thing——That Ferguson was not in it.*] And besides, *I* speaks some things with the Liberty of an Englishman, shews the very Root of all those Heats which had been rais'd,—Says what was true enough, [*That the Protestant Gentry had a Notion of a Divelish Design of the Papists to cut off the Kings Friends, and stirring men in both last Parliaments; That they had long had Witnesses to swear them out of their Lives, but no Juries to believe 'em; That now the point about the Sheriffs was gain'd, that difficulty was over; That the King had bad Council about him, who kept all things from his Knowledge; That if things continued thus, the Protestant Gentry resolved to get the King from his Evil Council, and then he'd immediately be of their side, and suffer all Popish Offenders to be brought to Justice.*] Hence 'twas plain, no Assassination, no Plot against the King or Government intended; only Treason against the D. of York and the Papists, who were themselves Traytors by Law. But

yet one bolder stroke than all this, [*He prays the Kings Eyes might be opened, to see his Enemies from his Friends, whom he had cause to look for nearer home.*] Was a Man to expect pardon after this—no certainly, which he soon himself grew sensible of, and prepared for Death, [*the Council, as he says, taking it very heinously, that he should presume to write such things.*]

As for what Sheriff *Daniel* urges, That what he says about the King were but *Glossy Pretences*; He answers him very well, That 'twas far otherwise. Here was plain matter of Fact : The Kingdom in eminent danger; the Fit just coming on, which has since so near shaken to pieces all the frame of Church and State, which has so many years been rising to this Compleatness : Ordinary ways and usual Remedies could not prevail; these Protestants were forced to betake themselves to extraordinary, in defence of the Government and Laws, and not *against* 'em, any more than 'twould have been to have taken Arms and rescu'd the King from a Troop of *Banditti*, who had got possession of his Person; the *Papists* who had him, being as visibly and notoriously obnoxious to the Government, and as dead Men in Law, most of 'em as publick Thieves and Robbers. Thus much of Mr. *Holloway*, the Popish tender mercy towards him, his Confession and Execution.

## Sir Thomas Armstrong.

But the next had not so fair play, because they knew he'd make better use on't. They had this *Lion* in the *Toils*, and did not intend to let him loose again to make sport, lest the Hunters themselves should come off ill by it. He had been all his Life a firm Servant and Friend to the Royal Family, in their Exile and afterwards: He had been in Prison for 'em under *Cromwell*, and in danger both of Execution and Starving; for all which they now rewarded him. He had a particular Honour and Devotion for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and pusht on his Interest on all Occasions, being a Man of as undaunted English Courage, as ever our Country produced. He was with the Duke formerly in his Actions in *Flanders*, and shar'd there in his Danger and Honour. His Accusation was his being concern'd in the General Plot, and that too of Killing the King; but he was indeed *hang'd* for running away, and troubling 'em to send so far after him. The Particulars pretended against him, were what the Lord *Howard* witnessed in *Russel's* Trial, [*Of his going to kill the King when their first design fail'd.*] But this was there only a *Supposal*, tho' advanc'd into a form'd Accusation, and aggravated by the Attorney, as the Reason why he had a Trial denied him, when *Holloway* had one offered, both of 'em being alike Outlawed: On which Outlawry Sir Thomas was Kidnapt in *Holland*, and brought o-



ver hither in Chains, and rob'd by the way into the bargain. Being brought up, and askt what he had to say that Sentence shou'd not pass upon him, he pleaded the 6th of Edw. 6. wherein 'tis provided, [*That if a Person outlawed render himself in a year after the Outlawry pronounc'd, and traverse his Indictment, and shall be acquitted on his Trial, he shall be discharged of the Outlawry.*] On which he accordingly then and there made a formal Surrender of himself to the Lord Chief Justice, and ask'd the benefit of the Statute, and a fair Trial for his Life, the Year not being yet expired. If ever any thing cou'd appear plain to common Sense, 'twas his Case. The Statute allows a years time, the year was not out, he surrender'd himself, demands the benefit of it; and all the Answer he could get, or Reason to the contrary, was the positive Lord Chief Justice's, [*We don't think so, and we are of another Opinion.*] Nay, cou'd not have so much Justice as to have Counsel allow'd to plead it, tho' the Point sufficiently deserv'd it, and here was the Life of an old Servant of the King's concern'd in it. When he still pleaded, *That a little while before one, meaning Holloway, had the benefit of a Trial offer'd him, if he'd accept it, and that was all he now desired.*

The Lord Chief Justice answers, *That was only the Grace and Mercy of the King.* The Attorney adds, *The King did indulge Holloway so far as to offer him a Trial, and his Majesty perhaps might have some Reason for it:* The very self-same *some Reason*, no doubt on't, which Holloway says he had for not pleading. But Sir Thomas (the Attorney goes on) *deserv'd no favour, because he was one of the*  
Per=

Persons that actually engaged to go, on the King's hasty coming from Newmarket, and destroy him by the way as he came to Town ; and that this appeared upon as full and clear Evidence, and as positively testified as any thing could be, and this in the Evidence given in of the late horrid Conspiracy. ] Now I'd fain know who gives this clear and full Evidence in the Discovery of the Conspiracy. Howard's is meer Supposition, and he's all who so much as mentions a syllable on't that ever cou'd be found on search of all the Papers and Trials relating to that Affair. To this Sir Thomas answers in his Speech, [*That had he come to his Trial, he cou'd have prov'd my Lord Howard's base Reflections on him to be a notorious falshood, there being at least ten Gentlemen, besides all the Servants in the House, cou'd testify where he dined that very day.*]

Still Sir Thomas demanded the Benefit of the Law, and no more : To which Jeffreys answer'd, with one of his usual barbarous Insults over the Miserable, [*That he shou'd have it by the Grace of God ; ordering, That Execution be done on Friday next according to Law. And added, That he shou'd have the full Benefit of the Law :* ] repeating the Jest, lest it should be lost, as good as three times in one Sentence. Tho', had not his Lordship slipt out of the World so sily, he had had as much benefit the same way, and much more justly than this Gentleman.

The Friday after he was brought to the place of Execution, Dr. Tennison being with him, and on his desire, after he had given what he had to leave, in a Paper, to the Sheriff, prayed a little while with him. He then prayed by himself ; and

After having thanked the Doctor for his great *Care and Pains* with him, submitted to the Sentence, and died *more composedly*, and *full* as resolutely as he had lived. 'Tis observable, that more cruelty was exercised on him than any who went before him, not only in the manner of his Death, but the exposing his Limbs and Body: A fair warning what particular Gratitude a *Protestant* is to expect for having oblig'd a true Papist.

Another thing worth remembring, in all other Cases as well as this, tho' occasion is here taken to do it, is, That whereas in *Holloway's* Case, *Jesferey's* observ'd, [*That not one of all concern'd in this Conspiracy had dared to deny it; and lower, to deny the Truth of the Fact absolutely.*] 'Tis so far from being true, that *every one* who suffer'd, did it as *absolutely* as possible. They were Try'd or Sentenc'd for [*Conspiring against the King and Government*] that was their Plot; but this they all deny, and *absolutely* too; and safely might do it: for they consulted *for it*, not conspired *against it*, resolving not to touch the King's Person; nay, if possible, not to shed one drop of Blood of any other, as *Holloway* and others say. For the King's Life, Sir *Thomas* says as the Lord *Russel*, [*Never had any man the impudence to propose so base and barbarous a thing to him.*] *Russel*, and almost all besides, say, *They had never any design against the Government.* Sir *Thomas* here says the same; [*As he never had any Design against the King's Life, nor the Life of any man, so he never had any Design to alter the Monarchy.*]

As he *liv'd*, he says he *dy'd* a sincere Protestant, and in the Communion of the Church of *England*, tho' he heartily wish'd he had more strictly liv'd up to the Religion he believed. And tho' he had but a short time, he found himself prepared for Death; and indeed, as all his Life shew'd him a Man of Courage, so his Death, and all the rest of his Behaviour, did, a Penitent Man, a Man of good Sense, and a good Christian.

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## Alderman *Cornish*.

**T**O make an end of this Plot altogether, 'twill be necessary once more to invert the *Order* in which things happened, and tho' Mr. *Cornish* suffer'd not till after the Judges returned from the *West*, as well as *Bateman* after him, yet we shall here treat of 'em both, and so conclude this Matter.

Mr. *Cornish* was seiz'd in *Octob.* 1685. and the *Monday* after his Commitment, which was on *Tuesday* or *Friday*, Arraigned for High Treason, having no Notice given him till *Saturday* noon. His Charge was for *Conspiring to Kill the King, and promising to assist the Duke of Monmouth, &c. in their Treasonable Enterprises*. He desired his Trial might be deferred, because of his short time for Preparation; and that he had a considerable Witness an hundred and forty miles off, and that the King had left it to the Judges, whether it should be put off

off or no. But 'twas denied him; the Attorney telling him, *He had not deserved so well of the Government as to have his Trial delayed.* That was in English, because he had been a *Protestant Sheriff*, he should not have *Justice*.

The Evidences against him were *Rumsey* and *Goodenough*. *Rumsey* swears, [*That when he was at the famous Meeting at Mr. Shepherds, Mr. Shepherd being call'd down, brought up Mr. Cornish; and when he was come in, Ferguson opened his Bosom, and under his Stomacher pull'd out a Paper in the Nature of a Declaration of Grievances, which Ferguson read, and Shepherd held the Candle while 'twas reading; that Mr. Cornish lik'd it, and what Interest he had, said, would joyn with it; and that out of Compassion he had not accus'd Mr. Cornish before.*]

*Goodenough* swears, *That he talkt with Cornish of the Design of Seizing the Tower.* *Mr. Cornish* said, *He would do what good he could, or to that purpose.*

To *Goodenough's* Evidence was opposed by *Mr. Gosprights*, who testified *Mr. Cornish* opposed his being Under-Sheriff, saying, *That he was an ill Man, obnoxious to the Government, and he'd not trust an hair of his Head with him.* And is it then probable that he'd have such Discourses with him as would endanger *Head and all*? *Mr. Love, Jekil, and Sir William Turner* witness to the same purpose.

As to *Rumsey's* Evidence, the Perjury lies so full and staring, that 'tis impossible to look into the Trial, with half an eye, without meeting it. Compare what he says on *Russel's Trial*, and here, and



and this will be as visible as the Sun. Being askt there, *Whether there was any Discourse about a Declaration, and how long he staid*; he says, [ *He was there about a quarter of an hour, and that he was not certain whether he heard something about a Declaration there, or whether he had heard Ferguson report afterwards that they had then debated it.* ] Now turn to *Cornish's Trial*, He is there strangely recovered in his Memory, and having had the advantage, either of Recollection, or better Instruction, remembers that distinctly in *October 1685*. which he could not in *July 1683*. [ *He had been there a quarter of an hour* ] the time he states in the *Lord Russel's Trial*, but lengthens it out, and improves it now, to so long time as *Mr. Shepherds* going down, bringing *Cornish* up, *Ferguson's* pulling out the Declaration, and reading it, and that, as *Shepherd* said in *Russel's Trial*, a long one too, as certainly it must be, if, as 'twas sworn, it contained all the *Grievances* of the Nation, and yet all this still in a *quarter of an hour*; thus contradicting himself both to Time and Matter.

But he is of such villanous Credit, that his Evidence is scarce fit to be taken even against himself. Let's see then how *Shepherd* does point-blank contradict, and absolutely overthrow it in every Particular, as expressly as 'tis possible to ruin any Evidence. He says [ *At one Meeting only Mr. Cornish was at his House to speak with one of the Persons there; that then he himself came up stairs, and went out again with Mr. Cornish. That there was not one word read, nor any Paper seen while Mr. Cornish was there, and this he was positive of, for Mr. Cornish was not one of their Company.* ]

Now

Now who should know best, *Rumsey* what *Shepherd* did, or he what he did himself? Could a man hold the *Candle* while a Declaration was read, as *Rumsey* swears *Shepherd* did, and yet know nothing of it; nay, protest the quite contrary? What sices the Consciences of his Jury were, let any Christian, Turk, or Jew be Judge; and Providence has already visibly done it on the Foreman of it, who came to an untimely end, being beaten to pieces by the Fall of some Timber at a Fire in *Thames-street*.

All that's pretended to bolster *Rumsey's* Evidence, and hinder *Shepherd's* from saving the Prisoner, was, *That Shepherd strengthened Rumsey, and proved Cornish guilty of a lie*. But if we enquire into the matter, we shall find one just as true as the other.

*Cornish* on his Trial is said to have denied his being at the Meeting, and discoursing with the D. of *Monmouth*: Which they'd have us believe *Shepherd* swears he was, tho' not a syllable of it appears. [*He had been there several times, Shepherd says, but was not of their Consult, knew nothing of their Business, nor can he be positive whether 'twas the Duke of Monmouth he came to speak with that Evening.*] But supposing in two or three years time, and on so little Recollection, *Cornish's* Memory had slipt in that Circumstance, what's that to *Shepherd's* Evidence against the very Root of *Rumsey's*, which hang'd the Prisoner?

In spight of all he was found Guilty, and Condemn'd, and even that Christian serenity of Mind and Countenance wherewith 'twas visible he bore his Sentence, turn'd to his Reproach by the Bench.

He

He continued in the same excellent Temper whilst in *Newgate*, and gave the World a glaring Instance of the Happiness of such Persons as live a pious Life, when they come to make an end on't, let the way thereof be never so violent. His carriage and behaviour at his leaving *Newgate* was as follows.

*Some passages of Henry Cornish Esq; before his Sufferings.*

Coming into the *Press-yard*, and seeing the Halter in the Officers hand, he said, *Is this for me?* the Officer answered, Yes; he replied, *Blessed be God*, and kissed it; and after said, *O blessed be God for Newgate, I have enjoyed God ever since I came within these Walls, and blessed be God who hath made me fit to dye. I am now going to that God that will not be mocked, to that God that will not be imposed upon, to that God that knows the Innocency of his poor Creature. And a little after he said, Never did any poor Creature come unto God with greater Confidence in his Mercy, and Assurance of Acceptation with him, through Jesus Christ, than I do; but it is through Jesus Christ, for there is no other way of coming to God but by him, to find Acceptance with him: There is no other Name given under Heaven whereby we can be saved, but the Name of Jesus. Then speaking to the Officers, he said, Labour everyone of you to be fit to dye, for I tell you, you are not fit to dye: I was not fit to dye my self 'till I came in hither, but O blessed be God, he hath made me fit to dye, and hath made me willing to dye! In a few moments I shall have*

have the fruition of the blessed Jesus, and that not for a day, but for ever. I am going to the Kingdom of God, to the Kingdom of God, where I shall enjoy the Presence of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of God the Holy Spirit, and of all the holy Angels; I am going to the general Assembly of the First-born, and of the Spirits of just men made perfect: O that God should ever do so much for me! O that God should concern himself so much for poor Creatures, for their Salvation, blessed be his Name! for this was the Design of God from all Eternity, to give his only Son to dye for poor miserable Sinners. Then the Officers going to tie his hands, he said, What, must I be tied then? well, a brown Thred might have served the turn; you need not tie me at all, I shall not stir from you, for I thank God I am not afraid to dye. As he was going out, he said, Farewel Newgate, Farewel all my Fellow-prisoners here, the Lord comfort you, the Lord be with you all.

Thus much for his Behaviour in the way to his Martyrdom. The Place of it was most spitefully and ignominiously ordered, almost before his own door, and near Guildhall, to scare any good Citizen from appearing vigorously in the Discharge of his Duty for his Countreys Service, by his Example. If any thing was wanting in his Trial, from the hast of it, for the clearing his Innocency, he sufficiently made it up in solemn Asseverations thereof on the Scaffold: [God is my Witness, says he, the Crimes laid to my Charge were falsly and maliciously sworn against me by the Witnesses: for I never was at any Consult, nor any Meeting where Matters against the Government were discoursed of.]

He

He adds, [*I never heard or read any Declaration tending that way.*] Again, [*As to the Crimes for which I suffer, Upon the words of a dying man, I'm altogether Innocent.*] Lower he adds, [*He died as he had liv'd, in the Communion of the Church of England, in whose Ordinances he had been often a partaker, and now felt the blessed effects thereof in these his Agonies.*]

He was observ'd by those who stood near the Sledge, to have solemnly, several times, averr'd his absolute Innocence of any Design against the Government, and particularly that which he dy'd for.

There were some Persons, who are sufficiently known, who were present at, and exprest a great deal of *barbarous Joy* at his Death : the open publication of their Names is here spar'd ; in hopes they have or will repent of so unmanly and unchristian a Behaviour ; tho' some of them then were so confounded with his Constancy and Cheerful Bravery, as wickedly to report, *That he was Drunk or mad when he dy'd.* His Quarters were set upon *Guildhall, in Terrorem*, and for the same Reason, no doubt, before mentioned, for which he was Executed so near it. There was such a terrible Storm, the day of his Death, as has scarce been known in the memory of man ; and will never be forgot by those vvho vv ere in it ; ten or a dozen Ships being founderd, or stranded in one Road, and a vast many more in other places. And as Heaven then did him Justice, and vindicated his Innocence, so is Earth now about it, the *Judgment* against him being *Reversing* by that honourable, ever memorable Parliament, vv hich  
under



*His Character.*

He vvas a Person of as knowvn Prudence as Integrity, a good Christian, a compleat Citizen, a vvorthy Magistrate, and a zealous Church of *England* man. He was so *cautious* and *wise*, that he vvas noted for it all thro' those vvorst of times, and often propos'd as an Example to others of *botter* and more *imprudent* Tempers; nor could the least imputation be fix'd on him of hearing, or concealing any unlavvful or dangerous Discourses, any other vvays than by plain force of Perjury, being knowvn to have shun'd some Persons, vvhom he, as vvell as some other prudent men, suspected to have no good Designs, and to be indu'd vvith no more *honesty* than *discretion*, as it aftervvards prov'd. But he vvas design'd to glorifie God by such an End as all his care could not avoid, vvhich he submitted to, vvith a bravery rarely to met vvith, unless among those vvho suffered for the same *Cause* in the same Age; or their Predecessors, Queen *Mary's* Martyrs. There vvas seen the same tenour of Prudence and Piety thro' all the Actions of his Life, tho' most conspicuous in the last glorious Scene of it. There vvas such a firmness in his Soul, such vigor, and almost *extatic* Joy, and yet so vvell regulated, that it shin'd thro' his Face, almost vvith as visible Rays as those in vvhich vve use to dress Saints and Martyrs, vvith vvhich both at his Sentence and Execution, he refresht all his Friends, and at once dazzled and confounded his most bitter Enemies.

Mr.

## Mr. Charles Bateman.

THE next and last was Mr. *Bateman* the Chyrurgeon, a Man of good Sense, good Courage, and good Company, and a very large and generous Temper, of considerable Repute and Practice in his Calling : A great Lover and Vindicator of the Liberties of the City and Kingdom, and of more interest than most of his Station. He was sworn against by *Rouse's Lee*, and *Richard Goodenough*, upon the old Stories of seizing the *Tower, City, and Savoy*. We had had a better Defence, had he himself been able to have made it : But being kept close Prisoner in *Newgate*, the Windows and Rooms all dark, and little or no Company, he being a free jolly Man, and us'd formerly to Conversation and Diversion, soon grew deeply melancholy ; and when he came on his Tryal, appeared little less than perfectly distracted ; on which the Court very kindly gave his Son liberty to make his Defence.—The first Instance to be sure of that Nature ; since he himself might probably, had he been in his Senses, have remembred and pleaded many things more, which would have invalidated their Evidence against him. But had not the mistaken Piety of his Son undertook his Defence, certainly they could never have been such *Candibals* to have try'd one in his Condition.—Yet could but what he brought for him, been allowed its Weight and Justice, he had escaped well enough. For as for *Lee*, one *Baker* Witness'd, [He had been practis'd upon by him in the year 83, and would have had him in-

*sinuate into Bateman's Company, and discourse about State-Affairs to trepan him, by which means he should be made a Great Man.* ] 'Twas urged besides, that there was three Years between the Fact pretended, and Lee's Prosecution of him, which, tho they had but one Witness could have brought him to punishment, which would have been judged sufficient by any, but those who would be content with nothing but Blood. For *Goodenough*, he was but one Witness, and pardon'd only so far, as to qualifie him to do mischief. However he was found Guilty; and just before his Execution, very much recovered himself, dying as much like a Christian, and with as great a *presence of Mind* as most of the others.

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## Dr. Oats, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Dangerfield.

WE are now obliged, by the *thrid* of our History, to resume a Subject, which, 'tis not doubted, will be *ungrateful* enough to some Persons; and that is, —the Popish Plot; the belief of which, by the indefatigable Industry of that Party, and the weekly pains of *their* Observer, and especially this last pretended Plot against the Government, was now almost entirely obliterated out of the minds of the less thinking part of the Nation. To accomplish which more fully, 'twas thought necessary by the *Managers*,

agers, either quite to take off, or expose to Miseries and Disgraces worse than Death, all those few Persons who remain'd honest and firm to their first Evidence; the generality of the World judging by outward appearance, and thinking it impossible but that one who stood in the Pillory, and was whipt at the *Carts-Arse*, must be a perjur'd Rogue without more ado. Mr. *Bedloe* was dead, and his Testimony therefore would be easier forgotten: tho at his last Breath after the Sacrament, he Solemnly and Juridically confirmed every word of it before one of the Judges, who was happily in *Bristol* at the time of his Death. Most of the Under-Evidences in the Plot were threatned, or promised, or brought off from what they had witness'd, or forc'd to leave the Land for the securing their Persons. None remain now besides *Oats* and *Dangerfield*, with whom all means possible, fair and foul, had been used, to make 'em turn Villains, and deny their Evidence; but to their eternal Praise, they still continued firm to their first Testimony, to the Rage and Confusion of their Enemies. They therefore went first to work with the Doctor; and 'twill be worth the while to consider the Reason of his *first Prosecution*, by which men that are not very much prejudiced may see the Reason and Justice of those which follow, and 'twas [*For scandalizing the Duke of York with that notorious Truth—That he was reconciled to the Church of Rome, adding, What every one knows, that 'twas High Treason so to be.*] Would but the Doctor's greatest and most passionate Enemies reflect on this beginning of his Sorrows; as well as calmly

examin all that's to come, they must form a juster Judgment of his Person and Actions, than what seems too deeply fixed in 'em, ever to be rooted out ; for which he was adjudged to pay that reasonable little Fine of a 100000 Pounds, which, till he paid, tho there was no *great haste* for his doing it, he was committed to the Bench.

Having him thus in *Limbo*, they resolved to strike at the *root* with him, and therefore after new fruitless attempts to make him quit and revoke his Evidence, they made the last Effort on his Constancy and Honesty ; and indeed Life it self, Indicting him on the 8th and 9th of *May*, 1685. for Perjury in some branches of his Evidence, given in some of it, almost Seven Years before. His first Accusation was, [*For Swearing in Ireland's Tryal, he himself was here in London, whereas 'twas pretended he was at that very time at St. Omers.*] The Second, *That Ireland was at that time in Town, when they would have it believed he was in Staffordshire.*

The Evidence for the first were all *Lads of St. Omers*, who, though they blunder'd ill-favour'dly in former Attempts the same way, and were accordingly told so by the Court in other Tryals, were novv grown expert in the business, being all of a Religion that makes Perjury meritorious ; all Youths and Boys, and under such a Discipline as oblige them to obey their Superiors, without any reserve, or questioning the Reason or Justice of the thing ; all, or most of 'em afterwards, rewarded with Places of Trust and Profit under King *James*, as no doubt promised 'em before for their good Service. They all swore



swore point blank, *That Oats was at St. Omers, when he swares he was here at the Consult.* Not one of these Witnesses who had not been bred at *St. Omers*, and but one who pretended to be a Protestant. For the second Indictment—*Of Irelands not being in Town in August, as Oats had sworn him :* They brought several Witnesses to prove it, and that he was at that time in *Staffordshire* ; most, if not all of which were great Papists.

In answer to which, let's first be persuaded fairly to consider what may be said in his Defence, and most part of his Vindication is over: And first—*These were most, or all of 'em, the self-same Witnesses, who in the successive Tryals, White-breads, Harcourts, &c. and Mr. Langhorns, could not find Credit ; and who had several Witnesses who swore point-blank contrary to what they affirmed, some of whom were dead before this last Tryal.* Lets then consider what Defence *Oats* made for himself, which in spite of his own and *Jeffreys* passion, seems strenuous and unanswerable.

He had in the former Tryals produced no less than Eight Persons who swore positively to his being in Town at that very time, when the Jesuits and their Youngers would so fain had him been out of it, whose Names were *Mr. Walker*, an ancient Minister of the Church of *England*, *Sarah Ives*, *Mrs. Mayo*, *Sir Richard Barker*, *Mr. Page*, *Mr. Butler*, *William Smith*, and *Mr. Clay*, a Romish Priest, four of which, *Mayo*, *Butler*, *Page*, and *Walker* he now produced again at his Tryal ; the tyvo first of vvhom positively swore the same they did before ; the Minister was too old to re-

member, and the last too fearful, positively to affirm what they had before done.

As to the 2<sup>d</sup> Indictment, a Crowd of Witnesses, such as they were, came to testify *Ireland* was in *Staffordshire* when *Oats* swore him to be in *London*.

To this same Objection he had formerly answer'd, and prov'd by the Oaths of Mr. *Bedloe*, *Sarah Pain*, and afterwards, of Mr. *Fennison*, *That Ireland was in Town, when others witness he was in the Country*. But now, at his Tryal, *Bedloe* and *Pain* being dead, and *Fennison* fled into *Holland*, he was absolutely incapacitated of making any Defence that way; and so was found Guilty of both Indictments.

The Judgment against him was just as merciful as could be expected from Papists, acting by a *Jeffreys*, part of which was, [To be whipt from *Algate* to *Newgate* on *Wednesday*, and on the *Friday* following from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and stand on the *Pillory* five times a year, and be Prisoner during *Life*.] Which he bore with a great deal of Strength and Courage; tho' had not Providence provided him a Body and Soul, made, one would think on purpose for it, 'twould have kill'd him, if he'd had the strength of twenty Men. He had in all above two thousand Lashes, as some that were by reckon'd 'em up— Such a thing as was never inflicted by any Jew, Turk, or Heathen, but *Jeffreys*; nay, the merciful Jews thought one less than God Almighty had appointed sufficient, and never gave but 39 at a time; all *St. Paul's* 3 times not coming near the 3<sup>d</sup> part of the Doctors. Had they hang'd him, they had been merciful; had they flead him alive, 'tis a question whether it had been so much torture

torture. How good and merciful those Persons vvho vvill vindicate this vvorse than barbarous and inhumane Action are, let the World and future Ages be Judges ; in the mean vvhile vve'll safely defy all History to shew one Parallel of it either on Man or Dog, from the Creation of the World to the year 1685.

But there needs no more aggravation of it, or urging vvhat is plain enough, that the thus dealing vvith him, even supposing his Crime as great as they'd have it, vvvas yet the highest affront and indignity even to *Humanity* it self. 'Tvvill besides this be an unansvverable Observation,—*That it had been impossible for a Man to have held out the Second Whipping after the first was over, while the Wounds were fresh about him, and every new stroke more than a double torment, either to have undergone this without Confession, or dropping down Dead with extremity of pain, had he not both had truth on his side, and also a more than common support and assistance from him who saw his Innocency.* This Whipping of his being the greatest Confirmation to his Evidence that vvvas possible to be given.

After his return to Prison, after all this Usage, yet if possible, more barbarous, tearing off the Plaisters from his Wounds, crushing him vvith Irons, thrusting him into Holes and Dungeons, and endeavouring to render him as infamous to the Nation, and all the VWorld, as *Cain* or *Judas* ; he bore up against all this, and more, vvith so strange and almost miraculous a Patience, that during his four years Imprisonment, he vvvas never once heard to sigh, or manifest any impatience under his Condition. He refused all

the Offers of the Jesuits, who even after this had the Impudence to propose to him his recanting his Evidence. He had still a strong Belief that he should see better times, and get his freedom again, which he had in that General Goal-delivery, granted all *England* by the then Prince of *Orange's* Heroick Undertaking. Since that he has presented his Case and Petition to the Parliament; to the House of Commons, as well as the House of Lords: And tho the Honourable House of Lords where offended at what they judged a slight of their Jurisdiction in his Addressing to the House of Commons, while his Cause lay before them, and express'd their resentments thereof accordingly; The Commons have since that taken his Case into Consideration, and, as well as four succeeding Parliaments before 'em, own'd his Cause, and censur'd the Proceedings of *Jeffreys* against him; and 'tis not doubted but will appoint him Rewards suitable to his Sufferings and Merit.

### *His Character.*

**H**IS Firmness and Courage, even perhaps to a Fault, have been visible through these mentioned, and all his other Actions since he appear'd on the publick Stage: His Passions are lively and warm, and he's the worst made for a Dissembler, an Hypocrite, or a secret Villain of any Man in the World: Nor have all his Sufferings much sunk him, tho he be a litle alter'd in this particular. He's open and frank, and speaks whatever

ever he thinks of any Persons or things in the World, and bearing himself justly enough, on his Services to his Country, is not careful to keep that Guard which others do, on his Words and Actions. He has Wit enough, a pleasant Humour, and sufficiently divertive to those he knows, and his Learning is far from contemptible. He has a good Library, is no mean Critick in the Greek, and well acquainted with the Schoolmen and Fathers. He's owner of as much Generosity as any Man, and as much tenderness to any in Misery, scorning to strike at those below him; an example of which very remarkable there was in his inhumane Judges Fall, he being almost the only Person who has been heard to pity him; tho' one would have thought he should have been the last. In a word, as this present Age has now begun to do him Justice, so 'tis not doubted will make an end on't, and those succeeding joyn with it in making honourable mention of his Name and Services to the Protestant Religion.

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### Mr. Johnson.

Much about the same time, the pious, reverend, and learned Mr. Johnson met with much the same Usage. His Great Crimes were, — *Being my Lord Russel's Chaplain, Writing the famous Julian the Apostate, and endeavouring to persuade the Nation, not to let themselves be made Slaves and Papists, when so many others were doing their*  
parts



*parts to bring 'em to it.* And 'tis a question whether any Man in the World, besides his Friend the Reverend Dr. *Burnet*; did more Service with his *Pen*, or more conduc'd to our great and happy Revolution, both among the Army, and in other places. For some of these Good Services he was accused, imprisond, tryed and condemned to be divested of his Canonical Habit, and be whipt as far as *Oats* was before him; which was perform'd, and which he underwent, as he did, with Courage and Constancy above a Man, and like a Christian and a Martyr. He remain'd ever since in the Kings Bench, till the Prince's coming deliver'd him.

### *His Character.*

**I**F any Man does not know what he is, let him read his *Julian*, and Defences of it; he'll find there as much clear, close, fair Reason, Scripture, and Law, as ever an ill Cause had brought against it, or a good one for it. Mr. *Johnson* is a true Christian Stoic; and though he writes warmly, thinks and acts as coldly as any Man in *Christendom*. His Piety is as remarkable as his Constancy, and his Universal Charity as both. —But he's still alive; and 'tis better to say no more of him, than either too much or too little.

Mr.

Mr. *Dangerfield*.

**H**IS Father was a Gentleman, who lived in good fashion at *Waltham-Abby*, or thereabouts—had been a great Sufferer for *K. Charles I.* and charged this his Son on his Death-bed, after his Discovery of the Plot, never to have any hand in any thing against the Government; which he promised, and faithfully observ'd. He was a man of Business and Courage, and therefore employed by the Papists, while among 'em, in their desperate and most dangerous Concerns. He was then of a Religion that excused and encouraged the worst things he or any other Man could be guilty of. The great thing which brought him on the Stage, was Mrs. *Celiers* business, called the *Meal-Tub-Plot*. The Papists had design'd to kill two Birds with one Stone——Divert the Laws and People from themselves, and ruine their Enemies; for which end they had among 'em made a Plot to bring in the best Men, and Patriots of the Kingdom into a pretended Design against the *K. and Government*, by a kind of an *Association*, like that which afterwards took better effect. And for this *Transaction*, Mr. *Dangerfield* was made choice of, a List of their Names, with the Design, being by him, according to Order, conveyed into one Colonel *Mansel's* Chamber—But he was discover'd, and seiz'd in the Design, and acknowledg'd all the Intreagues, giving so clear an account of it, that they had never to this very day the Impudence to pretend any Contradiction, or Trip in his

his Evidence, nor any other way but flat denyal. But there was somewhat yet deeper in the Case, which he afterwards revealed in his Depositions before the *Parliament*, That he was employed by the *same Party* to kill the King, and encourag'd and promis'd Impunity and Reward, and part of it given him by a great Person for that end.

When the Stream ran violently for Popery, he went over for security into *Flanders*, but continued not long there; and returning back, he was some time after seized, and carried before the Council, where, before the King himself, persisting to a *Title* in all his former Evidence, he was committed to *Newgate*; and after having lain there some time petition'd for a Trial, which they could not do upon any account but *Scandalum Magnatum*, and that in a Matter which lay only before the Parliament, to whom he had reveal'd it. Yet for that he was tried, and found Guilty, as *Wi. Williams* the Speaker afterwards for Licensing his Narrative, by order of Parliament. He was to undergo the same Whipping *Oats* and *Johnson* did. Before he went out he had strong bodings of his Death, and chose a Text for his Funeral Sermon in the . . . of *Job*, *There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary are at rest*. Saying, He was confident they had such a particular Malice against him, he should ne're return alive: Confirm'd the truth of all his former Evidence, and took a last Farewel of his Friends. After the Sentence was executed on him, in his return home, one *Francis* stab'd him into the Eye with a sort of a Tuck in the end of his Cane, which touching his Brain, he was hardly ever sensible after, but dy'd of the Wound in

a few Hours, not without great suspicion of Poison, his Body being swoln and black, and full of great Blains all over. The Murderer fled, but was pursu'd by the Rabble, who had torn him to pieces, had not the Officers rescu'd him. He defended and justified the Fact while in *Newgate*, saying, *He had the greatest Men in the Kingdom to stand by him*; to whom after his Trial, and being found Guilty upon clear Evidence, great Applications were made, which had been succesful for his Pardon, had not *Jeffreys* himself gone to *Whitehall*, and told the King *He must dye, for the Rabble* were now thoroughly heated. Attempts were made to bribe Mr. *Dangerfield's* Wife, that she might consent to the Pardon of her Husbands Murderer; but she too well deserv'd to be related to him, to sell his Blood; and had an Appeal ready against him, had he been pardon'd. So the poor State-Martyr was hang'd, as *Coleman* was before him. Mr. *Dangerfield's* Body was conveyed to *Waltham-Abby*, with several Coaches attending it, and there handsomly buried. He has left one Daughter behind him, who, if she lives, will be the true Child of her Father.

### *His Character.*

**T**He worst of his Enemies have own'd he was a Man of Wit, Courage, and Business; all which he reconcil'd the best of any one; he had as much Address, as perfect and great a Presence of Mind, in whatever Exigencies, as can be met with. He was the best Companion, the best Friend in the World, and as geherous an Enemy. He did

did nothing but what lookt very handsom ; and there was a Charm in the meanest, and something most bewitchingly pleasant in the most indefensible of his Actions. He could do almost every thing, and 'tis hard to say what he did with the greatest Grace. In a word, all that knew him must say, That he wanted nothing but an Estate to have made him as compleat a Gentleman as most in England.

### *Dangerfield's Ghost to Jeffreys.*

**R**Evenge! Revenge! my injur'd shade begins  
 To haunt thy guilty Soul, and scourge thy sins:  
 For since to me thou ow'st the heaviest score,  
 Whose living words tormented thee before,  
 When dead, I'm come to plague thee yet once more.  
 Don't start away, and think thy Brags to hide,  
 But see the dismal shape in which I dy'd!  
 My Body all deform'd with putrid Gore,  
 Bleeding my Soul away at every Pore;  
 Pusht faster on by Francis, less unkind;  
 My Body swoln, and bloated as thy Mind.  
 This dangling Eye-ball rolls about in vain,  
 Never to find its proper seat again;  
 The hollow Ceil usurpt by Blood and Brain:  
 The trembling Jury's Verdict ought to be  
 Murder'd at once, by Francis, and by Thee.  
 The Groans of Orphans, and the pondrous guilt  
 Of all the Blood that thou hast ever spilt;  
 Thy Countreys Curse, the Rabbles spite, and all  
 Those Witches sent thee since thy long-wisht Fall;

The



The Nobles just Revenge, so bravely bought,  
 For all the Ills thy Insolence has wrought:  
 May these, and more, their utmost force combine,  
 Joyn all their wrongs, and mix their Crys with mine.  
 And see, if Terror has not strack thee blind;  
 See here a long, a ghastly Train behind!  
 Far, far, from utmost WEST they crowd away,  
 And hov'ring o're, fright back the sickly Day.  
 Had the poor Wretches sinn'd as much as Thee,  
 Thou shou'dst not have forgot Humanity:  
 Who 'ere in Blood can so much pleasure take?  
 Tho' an ill Judge wou'd a good Hang-man make.  
 Each hollows in thy Ears, ——— Prepare! Prepare  
 For what thou must, yet what thou canst not bear.  
 Each, at thy Heart a bloody Dagger aims,  
 Upward to Gibbets point, downward to endless Flames.

## Mr. NOISE.

**A**Mong those who suffer'd innocently for  
 Lea's Plot, this poor young Gentleman was  
 one, tho' omitted in due place, who tho' he blt  
 not his Life immediately by it, was yet put to  
 such Extremities, as both injur'd his Reason, and  
 ruin'd his Fortunes. He was born of a good Fa-  
 mily not far from Reading in Berkshire; and being a  
 younger Son, was bound Apprentice to a Linen  
 Draper in London. In which capacity he was a great  
 Promoter of the Apprentices Address, intended to  
 be presented to the King for redress of Grievances,  
 and further Prosecution of the Popish Plot. A  
 Crime,

Crime, which those concern'd, *could never pardon*, and which was now lookt on, both by himself, and all his Friends, as the Cause of these his Troubles.

*Lee* swore against him that he was concern'd in this Plot, which he absolutely denying, tho' no other Witness came in against him, and he was ne're brought to a Trial, he underwent a long and severe Imprisonment, loaded with *Irons*, and kept from his *Friends*, so long till his *Trade* was ruin'd before he was set free, and he himself then rendred so *unfit* for business, that he was forc'd entirely to leave it off, and betake himself to *Travel*: where, never quite recovering himself, he in a little time after fell sick and dy'd.

This Poem should have been printed in *Page 39*. just before the Account of the *Martyrdom* of *Arthur Earl of Essex*, but through the Printers mistake was there omitted.

Upon the Execrable Murther of the Right Honourable *Arthur Earl of Essex*.

**M**ortality wou'd be too frail to bear  
How *ESSEX* fell, and not dissolve with fear;  
Did not more generous Rage take off the blow,  
And by his Blood, the steps to Vengeance show.

The Tow'r was for the Tragedy design'd,  
And to be slaughter'd, he is first confin'd:

As fetter'd Victims to the Altar go.  
But why must Noble ESSEX perish so?  
Why with such fury drag'd into his Tomb,  
Murder'd by slaves, and sacrific'd to Rome?

By stealth they kill, and with a secret stroke  
Silence that Voice which charm'd when e'er it spoke.  
The bleeding Orifice o'reflow'd the Ground,  
More like some mighty Deluge, than a Wound.  
Through the large space his Blood and Vitals glide,  
And his whole Body might have past beside.  
The wreaking Crimson swell'd into a Flood,  
And stream'd a second time in Capel's Blood.  
He's in his Son again to Death pursu'd,  
An Instance of the high'st Ingratitude.  
They then malicious Stratagems Imploy,  
With Life, his dearer Honour to destroy,  
And make his Fame extinguish with his Breath;  
An Act beyond the Cruelties of Death.  
Here Murder is in all its shapes compleat,  
As Lines united in their Centre meet,  
Form'd by the blackest Politicks of Hell;  
Was Cain so dev'lish when his Brother fell?

He that contrives, or his own Fate desires,  
Wants Courage, and for fear of Death expires;  
But mighty ESSEX was in all things brave,  
Neither to Hope, nor to Despair, a Slave.  
He had a Soul too Innocent, and Great,  
To fear, or to anticipate his Fate:  
Yet their exalted Impudence and Guilt,  
Charge on himself the precious Blood they spilt.  
So were the Protestants some years ago  
Destroy'd in Ireland without a Foe.

*By their own barbarous Hands the Mad-men dye,  
And Massacre themselves they know not why :  
Whilst the kind Irish howl to see the Gore,  
And pious Catholicks their Fate deplore.  
If you refuse to trust Erroneous Fame,  
Royal Mac-Ninny will confirm the same.*

*We have lost more in injur'd Capel's heir,  
Than the poor Bankrupt Age can e're repair.  
Nature indulg'd him so, that there we saw  
All the choice strokes her stiddy hand cou'd draw.  
He the Old English Glory did revive,  
In him we had Plantagenets alive.  
Grandeur, and Fortune, and a vast Renown  
Fit to support the lustre of a Crown.  
All these in him were potently conjoyn'd,  
But all was too ignoble for his Mind.  
Wisdom and Vertue, Properties Divine,  
Those, God-like ESSEX, were entirely thine.*

*In his Great Name he's still preserv'd alive,  
And will to all succeeding times survive.  
With just Progression, as the constant Sun  
Doth move, and through its bright Ecliptick Run.  
For whilst his Dust does undistinguish'd lye,  
And his blest Soul is soar'd above the Sky,  
Fame shall below his parted Breath supply.*

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THE  
INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
Western Transactions,  
AND  
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS  
UPON THEM.

I Am sensible 'tis a very *invidious* thing to defend any Action which has had the Publick Stream and cry long against it; with which even men of Sense, and sometimes Religion too, tho' Pride or Shame perhaps seldom lets 'em own the very truth on't, are commonly hurried away as well as others. But this is, 'tis hoped, for the general, an Age of *Confession* and Ingenuity; and since so many of the greatest men upon Earth have gone before, in acknowledging some Notions too far strain'd, and others mistaken, 'twill be no real Disgrace, but an Honour to follow them, when so much in the right. And if once Principles and Notions are chang'd, or limited, we shall necessarily have other thoughts of Things and Persons than we

K 2                      had



had before; and that Action we call'd *Rebellion*, and those Men we thought *Rebels*, while we had a wrong slavish Notion of Obedience; when once that's regulated, and we believe with all the World, and all Ages and Nations, *That we are to obey only the lawful Commands of Superiours, and submit only to such unjust ones as will not much damage the Commonwealth; but resist and defend our selves, when all we have dear, our Religion, Liberty, and Lives are visibly and undeniably attack'd and invaded, either without all form of Law, or what's worse, the wrested pretence of it.* Then we think truly, that such men are so far from being *Rebels*, that they are the *worthy true Defenders of their Faith and Country: and such an Action so far from Rebellion, that 'tis highly meritorious, and praise-worthy.* Most men being now satisfied in these Points, unless those whom insuperable Interest or Prejudice have poison'd and rooted incorrigibly in the contrary Belief. And the truth and reasonableness of them having been undeniably prov'd by many worthy Persons from the Law of Nations, the Ends of all Government, and the Constitution of our Kingdom, and the Practice of former Ages, both Popish and Protestant: All the Question now must be about *Matter of Fact, Whether Things were then brought to that Extremity that 'twould probably be too late to make any Defence for Religion and Property, if 'twere not then made; and whether or no the Fundamental Contract were then actually violated?*

This

This is plain, that the Protestant Religion, and all our Liberties were then most eminently in danger, publick Leagues being long before made between his Britannick Majesty and the King of *France* for their Extirpation: That he who had been voted in Parliament the main Head of the Popish Cause, was now grown the Head of the Kingdom; or indeed the Popish Deputy here, as he is since the King of *France's* in our Neighbouring Island; That for being reconciled to *Rome*, he was actually a Traytor; and besides, of a Religion whose Oaths could not be depended upon, as we were then, and long before to be, and have since sufficiently felt and experienced. That on this account, he hardly *could* keep his *Contract*, as 'twas plain he actually did not, publicly and notoriously violating those Laws he swore to maintain, both before and after he had done it, by going to Mass himself, setting up Mass-houses, and encouraging Popery. As for many Grievances and Oppressions, he was then as really Guilty of 'em as ever after, tho' not in such large, and frequent, and various Instances; some of 'em are those very same which the Parliament inserted among the Proofs and Reasons of the Abdication, particularly the issuing out *Quo Warranto's* for Cities and Corporations; the great Cause and Counsellor of which no doubt he was, even before he *actually*, I mean *publickly*, reigned.

In a word , the securing the Protestant Interest in all *Europe*, that, and their own Liberties in *England*, was the main Cause why many, and most engaged in this Design. If these were in no danger , and not violated , they were *Rebels*: If the safety of 'em could be expected any other way but by the Sword , they were no better. Whether things were in that Condition, or no, at that time, God and the World must be Judges. If it were so, they were not Rebels : If the Case was not so bad, and the Mystery of Iniquity not so far reveal'd , as it has been since, yet preventive Physick is necessary , especially when Death is unavoidable without it. If a prudent Man is to meet Mischief rushing upon him, and not stay for't till it overwhelms him , and take the same Course against a certain *Consequence*, as an *actual* Evil , why then , I think 'twill be very hard to *hang* People in one World, and *damn* 'em in another, for having as little a *Forefight* , and great a *Faith* as their Neighbours.

Others there were who embark't in that Action , because they really thought , how much mistaken soever they might be, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was the *King's Legitimate Son* ; which such as had a personal Love for him might more easily believe. Now , altho' many, who engaged on the former account only , did not believe this, nor know any thing of his Intention of being proclaim'd King, nor approved of it when 'twas done ; and tho' had he been able to make out his Title , or let his Pretensions alone, he had not wanted in all likelihood, a suffi-

sufficient Assistance from the Nobility and Gentry, none of whom for those Reasons coming in to him; yet on the other side, 'tis hardly doubted that these men, who thought he had a right, were really obliged to follow the Dictates of their Conscience, tho' mistaken, and do whatever lay in their power, to the utmost Venture of their Lives, to fix him on his Father's Throne, to which they verily believed he had a proper Right and Title. And these men too, acting on the same Reasons with the foremention'd, for deliverance of their Country, as well as defence of him whom they *thought* their King; The earnest Zeal, and Concern and Love which most of 'em manifested for the Protestant Religion, being besides so conspicuous in their Lives and Deaths, I know not how they can, without impudence, be branded with the infamous Name of *Rebels*; nor think 'twill be any Arrogance to honour 'em with the just, and dear-bought Title of *Martyrs*.

One thing there is very observable in most, if not all of those who laid down their Lives in this Cause, both in *England* and *Scotland*, that, besides that extraordinary Divine courage and chearfulness with which they dy'd, they had Expressions plainly boding that great Deliverance which Providence has since that miraculously accomplished for these Kingdoms. 'Twould be endless to give almost all the innumerable Instances of it: Mr. Nelthrop says, [*God had in his wonderful Providence made him and others Instruments, not only in what was already fallen out, but he believed, for hastning some other great Work,*

be had yet to do in these Kingdoms. ] Mrs. Gaunt says, [God's Cause shall revive, and he'd plead it at another rate than yet he had done, against all its malicious Opposers.] And speaks yet more strangely of those then uppermost, and likely to be so, [That tho' they were seemingly fixt, and using their Power and Violence against those they had now got under 'em, yet unless they could secure Jesus Christ, and all his holy Angels, they should never do their Business, but Vengeance would be upon 'em ere they were aware.] Capt. Ansley, whose Speech is as pretty a neat thing, as close, and Christian, and couragious, as perhaps any that ever was made by Man in his Condition, after he had said [He did not repent what he had done, but if he had a thousand Lives, would have engaged 'em all in the same Cause ;] adds just after, [Tho' it has pleased the wise God, for Reasons best known to himself, now to blast our Designs, yet he will deliver his People by ways we know not, nor think of.] Rumbold said just the same. Mr. Hewling says, [I question not, but in his own time, God will raise up other Instruments to carry on the same Cause they dy'd for, for his own Glory.] Mr. Lark, [That he was confident God would Revenge their Bloods.] Now it will be very harsh to say all these, and several more to the same purpose, were nothing but Enthusiasm, since spoken by Persons of all Sexes and Ages, in twenty different places, in the most calm and serene Tempers, and the Persons not wild or fanciful; and their Words miraculously made good by the Event, which shews God honour'd 'em with being Prophets as well as Martyrs.



To proceed to the Persons who suffer'd in this Cause here, and in the *West*, and other places, chiefly under *Jeffrey's* insulting Cruelty. His dealing with 'em is not to be parallel'd by any thing but the new French Dragoons, or the old Cut-throats and Lords Chief-Justices of the poor *Albingerfes* or *Waldenses* at *Merindol* and *Cutrices*. Had the Great *Turk* sent his *Fanisaries*, or the *Tartar* his Armies among 'em, they'd scaped better. Humanity could not offend so far to deserve such punishment as he inflicted. A certain barbarous Joy and Pleasure grinn'd from his brutal Soul through his bloody Eyes, whenever he was Sentencing any of the poor Souls to Death and Torment, so much worse than *Nero*, as when that Monster wisht he had never learnt to write, because forc'd to set his Name to Warrants for Executions of Malefactors. *Jeffreys* would have been glad if every Letter he writ had been such a Warrant, and every Word a Sentence of Death. He observ'd neither Humanity to the Dead, nor Civility to the Living. He made all the *West* an *Aceldema*; some places quite depopulated, and nothing to be seen in 'em but forsaken Walls, unlucky Gibbets, and Ghostly Carcases. The Trees were loaden, almost as thick with Quarters as Leaves. The Houses and Steeples covered as close with Heads as at other times frequently in that Country with *Crows* or *Ravens*. Nothing could be liker Hell than all those Parts, nothing so like the Devil as He. Caldrons hissing, Carkases boyling, Pitch and Tar sparkling and Glowing, Blood and Limbs boyling, and tearing, and mang-

mangling, and he the great Director of all; and in a word, discharging his Place who sent him, the best deserving to be the late King's Chief Justice there, and Chancellor after, of any man that breath'd since *Cain* or *Judas*.

Some of the more principal Persons who fell under his barbarous Sentences, 'tis thought worth the while to treat distinctly and particularly of, throwing the rest together after 'em, and only reprinting the former Account, if any are left out, it being necessary to hasten, to prevent Shams. If the Book be accepted, and come to another Edition, they shall be inserted; and if any Faults or Mistakes found, acknowledged and regulated. And the first whom we shall make especial Remarks on, are

## The *Hermlings*.

The *Hewlings*.

IF any one would see true *Pure Popish Mercy*, let 'em look on these two Gentlemen, the only *Sons* of their virtuous and sorrowful surviving Parents; the Comforts, Props, and Hopes of their Name and Family, carefully educated, virtuously disposed both of them; after all repeated applications, if but for one of their Lives, barbarously executed. A particular Care was taken by their Father in their Education, forming their Minds by his own Example, and constant Instructions and Prayers, as well as other pains of Ingenious Masters, to the strictest Rules of Piety and Vertue. Nor was their pious and very tender Mother less careful in that particular.

The Elder, Mr. *Benjamin Hewling* had Tutors in the *Mathematicks*, and other parts of Philosophy; a course of which he went through successfully enough, and so as to render him as compleat in his Mind, as Nature had form'd his Body: After which he went to *Holland*, as his Brother Mr. *William Hewling*, from whence this last returned with the Duke: Both of 'em had Commands in the Army; the Elder had a Troop of Horse, the Younger was a Lieutenant of Foot, and discharged their Places with much more *Conduct* and *Bravery*, than could be expected from such young Soldiers, being entirely satisfied in the *Cause* they fought for, since 'twas no less than the Interest of all that was dear to 'em in this World or t' other. The Eldest had particularly  
fig-

signaliz'd himself in several Skirmishes, and was sent with a Detachment of his own Troop, and two more, to *Myn-head* in *Somersetshire* to bring *Cannon* to the Army, at the very instant the Duke engaged the Kings Forces at fatal *Sedgmore*; and came not up till after the Field was entirely lost; to whose absence, with so considerable a Party of the Dukes Horse, and the most resolved men of all he had, the loss of the day was principally owing. Finding all things in Disorder, and the Rout beyond recovering, he was forc'd to disperse his Troops, every one shifting as they could for themselves. He and his Brother kept together, where what befel 'em after, their Friends have given an exact account, which is here following inserted.

*The gracious dealings of God, manifested to some in Dying Hours, have been of great advantage to those living that heard the same, giving them an occasion thereby to reflect on their own State, and to look after the things of their Peace before they be hid from their Eyes; as also a great encouragement to strengthen the Faith of those that have experienced the Grace of God to them.*

*To that end it is thought necessary, by Parents especially, to preserve to their Children that remain, those blessed Experiences that such have had, which God hath taken to himself.*

*Here therefore is presented a true account of the admirable appearances of God towards two young Wen; Mr. Benjamin Hewling, who dyed when he was about 22 Years of Age, and Mr. William Hewling, who dyed before he arrived to 20 Years: They*  
*Engaged*

Engaged with the Duke of Monmouth, as their own Words were, for the English Liberties, and the Protestant Religion, and for which Mr. Hewling was Executed at Lyme the 12th of September, 1685. and Mr. Ben. Hewling at Taunton the 30th of the same Month; and however severe Men were to them, yet the blessed Dispensation of God towards them was such, as hath made good his Word, that out of the Mouths of Babes he hath ordained Strength, that he may still the Enemy and the Avenger. Then, Reader, would you see Earthly Angels, (Men that are a little too low for Heaven, and much too high for Earth) would you see poor frail Creatures trampling this World under their Feet, and with an holy, serene Smiling at the Threats of Tyrants, who are the Terrors of the Mighty in the Land of the Living? Would you see shackled Prisoners behave themselves like Judges, and Judges stand like Prisoners before them? Would you see some of the rare Exploits of Faith in its highest Elevation, immediately before it be swallowed up in the Beatifical Vision? To conclude, would you see the Heavenly Jerusalem portrayed on Earth? Would you hear the melodious Voices of ascending Saints in a ravishing Consort ready to joyn with the Heavenly Chorus in their delightful Hallelujahs? Then draw near, come and see! If thou be a Man of an Heavenly Spirit, here is pleasant and suitable entertainment for thee; and after thou hast conversed a while with these excellent Spirits, it may be thou wilt Judge as I do, That dead Saints are sweeter Companions (in some respects) for thee to converse with, than those that are living: And when thou shalt see the magnificent Acts of their Faith, their invincible Patience, their flaming Love to Christ, their strange contempt and under-



*undervaluings of the World, their plainness and simplicity in the profession of the Gospel, their fervent and brotherly love to each other, their ravishing Prospects, (as it were on the top of Mount Pisgah) of the Heavenly Canaan, their Swan-like Songs and Dying Speeches. And Reader, You know the first Lissings of little Children, and last Farewels of Dying Saints are always most sweet and charming: Those Fore-tasts of the Rivers of Pleasure, the transporting Glimpses they had of the Crown of Glory; I say, when you see and read these Exemplary Truths, wonder not that the Pious Hewlings long'd so vehemently to be in a better World, though they were to pass through a thousand Deaths, or the Fiery Tryal to it. [But to come to our intended matter.]*

After the Dispersing of the Dukes Army, they fled and put to Sea, but were driven back again, and with the hazard of their Lives got on shore, (over dangerous Rocks) where they saw the Country fill'd with Soldiers; and they being unwilling to fall into the hands of the Rabble, and no way of defence or escape remaining to them, they surrendred themselves Prisoners to a Gentleman, whose House was near the place they landed at, and were from thence sent to Exeter Goal, the 12th of July, where remaining some time, their behaviour was such, that (being visited by many) caus'd great respect towards 'em, even of those that were Enemies to the Cause they engaged in; and being on the 27th of July put on board the Swan Frigat, in order to their bringing up to London; their Carriage was such,  
as

as obtained great kindness from the Commander, and all other Officers in the Ship; and being brought into the River, Captain *Richardson* came and took them into his Custody, and carryed them to *Newgate*, putting great Irons upon them, and put them apart from each other, without giving Liberty for the nearest Relation to see them, notwithstanding all endeavours and entreaties used to obtain it, tho in the presence of a Keeper; which tho' it did greatly increase the Grief of Relations, God, who wisely orders all things for good to those he intends Grace and Mercy to, made this very Restraint, and hard usage a blessed advantage to their Souls, as may appear by their own Words, when after great importunity and charge, some of their near Relations had leave to speak a few Words to them before the Keeper, to which they replied, *They were contented with the Will of God, whatever it should be.* Having been in *Newgate* three Weeks, there was Order given to carry them down into the West, in order to their Tryal; which being told them, they answer'd, *They were glad of it*; and that Morning they went out of *Newgate*, several that beheld them, seeing them so chearful, said, *Surely they had received their Pardon, else they could never carry it with that Courage and Chearfulness.* Altho this must be observed, that from first to last, whatever hopes they received from Friends, they still thought the contrary, never being much affected with the hopes of it, nor cast down, nor the least discouraged at the worst that man could do. In their Journey to *Dorchester*, the Keepers that went with them have given this account of them, *That*  
their

*their Carriage was so grave, serious, and Christian, that made them admire to see; and hear what they did from such young Men.*

A near Relation that went into the *West* to see the issue of things, and to perform whatever should be necessary for them, gives the following account :

At *Salisbury*, the 30th of *August*, I had the first opportunity of Converse with them : I found them in a very excellent Composure of Mind; declaring their experience of the Grace and Goodness of God to them in all their Sufferings, in supporting, and strengthening and providing for them, turning the Hearts of all in whose hands they had been both at *Exon*, and on Ship-board, to shew pity and favour to them ; although since they came to *Newgate* they were hardly used, and now in their Journey loaded with heavy Irons, and more inhumanely dealt with. They with great chearfulness profess'd, *That they were better, in a more happy Condition than ever in their Lives, from the sense they had of the pardoning Love of God in Jesus Christ to their Souls, wholly referring themselves to their wise and gracious God to choose for them Life or Death ; Expressing themselves thus : Anything what pleases God, what he sees best, so be it : We know he is able to deliver, but if not, blessed be his Name, Death is not terrible now, but desirable.* Mr. Benjamin Hewling particularly added, *As for the World, there is nothing in it to make it worth while to live, except we may be serviceable to God therein.* And afterwards said, *Oh ! God is a strong Refuge, I have found him so indeed.*

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The next Opportunity I had was at *Dorchester*, where they both were carried, there remaining together four days : By reason of their strait Confinement our Converse was much interrupted; but this appear'd, that they had still the same Presence and support from God, no way discourag'd at the approach of their Tryal, nor of the event of it, whatever it should be.

The 6th of September Mr. Benjamin Hewling was order'd to *Tannton* to be tryed there: Taking my Leave of him, he said, *Oh ! Blessed be God for Afflictions ; I have found such happy Effects , that I would not have been without them for all this World.*

I remained still at *Dorchester* to wait the Issue of Mr. William Hamling, to whom after Tryal, I had free Access, whose Discourse was much fill'd with Admirings of the Grace of God in Christ, that had been manifested towards him, in calling him out of his Natural State. He said, *God by his Holy Spirit did suddenly seize upon his Heart, when he thought not of it in his retired Abode in Holland, as it were secretly whispering in his Heart, Seek ye my Face, enabling him to answer his gracious Call, and to reflect upon his own Soul, shewing him the Evil of Sin, and necessity of Christ, from that time carrying him on, to a sensible adherence to Christ for Justification and Eternal Life.* He said, *Hence he found a Spring of Joy and Sweetness, beyond the Comforts of the whole Earth.* He further said, *He could not but admire the wonderful Goodness of God, in so preparing him, for what he was bringing him to, which then he thought not of, giving him hope of Eternal Life before he called him to look Death in the face, so that he did chearfully resign his Life to God before*

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he came, having sought his Guidance in it ; and that both then, and now the Cause did appear to him very glorious, notwithstanding all he had suffer'd in it, or what he further might. Although for our Sins God hath withheld these good things from us. But he said, God had carry'd on his blessed Work on his Soul, in and by all his Sufferings; and whatever the Will of God were, Life or Death, he knew it would be best for him.

After he had received his Sentence, when he returned to Prison, he said, *Methinks I find my Spiritual Comforts increasing, ever since my Sentence. There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, its God that justifies, who shall condemn ?*

When I came to him the next morning (when he had received News that he must die the next day, and in order to it was to be carryed to *Lyme* that day) I found him in a more excellent rais'd spiritual Frame, than before : He said, He was satisfy'd God had chosen best for him ; he knows what the Temptations of Life might have been ; I might have lived and forgotten God, but now I am going where I shall sin no more. Oh ! its a blessed thing to be free from sin, and to be with Christ. Oh ! the Riches of the Love of God in Christ to Sinners. Oh ! how great were the Sufferings of Christ for me beyond all I can undergo ? How great is that Glory to which I am going ? It will soon swallow up all our Sor-row here.

When he was at Dinner, just before his going to *Lyme*, he dropt many abrupt Expressions of his inward Joy, such as these : *Oh ! the Grace of God, the Love of Christ ; Oh, that blessed Supper of the Lamb,*



*Lamb, to be for ever with the Lord ! He further said, when I went to Holland, you knew not what Snares, Sins and Miseries I might fall into, or whether ever we should meet again : But now you know whether I am going, and that we shall certainly have a most joyful meeting.*

*He said, Pray give my particular Recommendations to all my Friends, with acknowledgements for all their kindness. I advise them all to make sure of an interest in Christ, for he is the only Comfort when we come to die.*

*One of the Prisoners seemed to be troubled at the manner of the Death they were to die ; to whom he replied, I bless God I am reconciled to it all.*

*Just as he was going to Lyme, he writ these few Lines to a Friend, being hardly suffer'd to stay so long.*

*I am going to Launch into Eternity, I hope and trust into the Arm of my Blessed Redeemer, to whom I commit you and all my dear Relations ; my Duty to my dear Mother, and Love to all my Sisters, and the rest of Friends.*

William Hewling.

*As they passed through the Town of Dorchester to Lime, multitudes of People beheld them, with great Lamentations, admiring at his Deportment at his parting with his Sister.*

*As they pass'd upon the Road between Lime and Dorchester, his Discourse was exceeding Spiritual, (as those declar'd who were present) taking occasion from every thing to speak of the Glory*

they were going to. Looking out on the Country as he pass'd, he said, *This is a glorious Creation, but what then is the Paradise of God to which we are going? 'tis but a few Hours, and we shall be there, and for ever with the Lord.*

At Lyme, just before they went to die, reading 14. John 18. He said to one of his fellow-Sufferers, *Here is a sweet promise for us. I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you. Christ will be with us to the last.* One taking leave of him, he said, *Farewel till we meet in Heaven; Presently I shall be with Christ: Oh! I would not change conditions with any in this World; I would not stay behind for ten thousand Worlds.*

To another that ask'd him how he did now? he said, *Very well, he bless'd God.* And farther asking him, if he could look Death in the face with comfort now it approach'd so near? he said, *Yes, I bless God I can with great Comfort; God hath made this a good Night to me, my Comforts are much increas'd since I left Dorchester: Then taking leave of him, said, Farewel, I shall see you no more.* To which he replied, *How! see me no more? yes, I hope to meet you in Glory.* To another that was by him to the last, he said, *Pray remember my dear Love to my Brother and Sister, and tell them, I desire they would comfort themselves that I am gone to Christ, and we shall quickly meet in the Glorious Mount Sion above.*

Afterwards he prayed for about three quarters of an hour with the greatest fervency, exceedingly blessing God for Jesus Christ, adoring the riches of his Grace in him, in all the glorious fruits of it

it towards him, praying for the Peace of the Church of God, and of these Nations in particular, all with such eminent assistance of the Spirit of God, as convinced, astonish'd, and melted into Pity the Hearts of all present, even the most malicious Adversaries, forcing Tears and Expressions from them; some saying, They knew not what would become of them after Death; but it was evident he was going to great happiness.

When he was just going out of the World, with a joyful Countenance, he said, *Oh! now my Joy and Comfort is, that I have a Christ to go to,* and so sweetly resign'd his Spirit to Christ, the 12th of September, 1685.

An Officer who had shewed so malicious a Spirit as to call the Prisoners Devils, when he was guarding them down, was now so convinced, that he after told a Person of Quality, That he was never so affected, as by his chearful Carriage and fervent Prayer, such as he believ'd was never heard, especially from one so young; and said, I believe had the Lord Chief Justice been there, he could not have let him die.

The Sheriff having given his Body to be bury'd, although it was brought from the place of Execution without any notice given, yet very many of the Town, to the number of about 200, came to accompany him; and several young Women of the best of the Town, laid him in his Grave in *Lyme Church-yard*, the 13th of September, 1685.

-After which his Sister Writ this following Letter  
to her Mother.

**A**lthough I have nothing to acquaint my Dear Mother withal, but what is most afflictive to Sense, both as to the Determination of Gods Will, and as to my present Apprehension concerning my Brother Benjamin, yet remaining; yet there is such abundant Consolation mixt in both, that I only wanted an opportunity to pay this Duty; God having wrought so glorious a Work on both their Souls, revealing Christ in them, that Death is become their Friend. My Brother William having already with the greatest Joy, declared to those that were with him to the last, that he would not change Conditions with any that were to remain in this world; and he desired that his Relations would comfort themselves, that he is gone to Christ. My Brother Benjamin expects not long to continue in this World, and is exceeding willing to leave it when God shall call, being fully satisfied that God will choose that which is best for him and us all; by these things God doth greatly support me; and I hope you also, my dear Mother, which was and is my Brothers great desire; there is still room for Prayer for one; and God having so answer'd, though not in kind, we have encouragement still to wait on him.

Honoured Mother,  
Your Dutiful Daughter.

When I came to Taunton to Mr. Benjamin Hew-  
ling, he had received the News of his Brothers  
being gone to die with so much comfort and joy,  
and

and afterwards of the continued goodness of God increasing it to the end. He express'd to this effect, We have no cause to fear Death, if the Presence of God be with us; there is no evil in it, the sting being taken away; its nothing but our Ignorance of the Glory that the Saints pass into by Death, which makes it appear dark for our selves or Relations, if in Christ: what is this World, that we should desire an abode in it? it's all vain and unsatisfying, full of sin and misery: Intimating also his own chearful expectations soon to follow, discovering then, and all along great seriousness, and sense of spiritual and eternal things, complaining of nothing in his present Circumstances, but want of place of retirement to converse more uninterruptedly with God and his own Soul, saying, That his lonely time in *Newgate* was the sweetest in his whole Life. He said, God having some time before struck his Heart (when he thought of the hazard of his Life) to some serious Sense of his past Life, and the great consequences of Death and Eternity, shewing him, that they were the only happy Persons that had secured their eternal States: The folly and madness of the ways of sin, and his own Thralldom therein, with his utter inability to deliver himself; also the necessity of Christ for Salvation: He said it was not without terror and amazement for some time, the sight of unpardoned sin, with eternity before him. But God wonderfully opened to him the Riches of his Free-grace in Christ Jesus for poor Sinners to flee to, enabling to look alone to a Crucified Christ for Salvation: He said this blessed Work was in



some measure carried on upon his Soul, under all his business and hurries in the Army; but never sprung forth so fully and sweetly till his close confinement in *Newgate*. There he saw Christ and all spiritual Objects more clearly, and embraced them more strongly; there he experienced the blessedness of a reconciled State, the Excellency of the ways of Holiness, the delightfulness of Communion with God, which remained with very deep and apparent impressions on his Soul, which he frequently express'd with admiration of the Grace of God towards him.

He said, Perhaps my Friends may think this Summer the saddest time of my Life; but I bless God it hath been the sweetest and most happy of it all; nay, there is nothing else worth the name of happiness. I have in vain sought satisfaction from the things of this World, but I never found it; but now I have found rest for my Soul in God alone.

O how great is our blindness by Nature, till God open our Eyes, that we can see no excellency in spiritual things, but spend our precious time in pursuing Shadows, and are deaf to all the invitations of Grace and Glorious Offers of the Gospel! How just is God in depriving us of that we so much slighted and abused!! Oh! his infinite patience and goodness, that after all, he should yet sanctifie any methods to bring a poor sinner to himself: Oh! Electing Love, distinguishing Grace; what great cause have I to admire and adore it!

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He said, What an amazing Consideration is the suffering of Christ for sin, to bring us to God; his suffering from wicked Men was exceeding great; but alas, what was that to the Dolours of his Soul, under the infinite Wrath of God! This Mystery of Grace and Love is enough to swallow up our thoughts to all Eternity.

As to his own Death, he would often say, He saw no reason to expect any other; I know God is infinitely able to deliver, and I am sure will do it, if it be for his Glory, and my Good; in which, I bless God, I am fully satisfied; its all my desire that he would choose for me, and then I am sure it will be best, whatever it be; for truly, unless God have some work for me to do in the World for his Service and Glory, I see nothing else to make Life desirable: In the present state of Affairs, there is nothing to cast our Eyes upon but Sin, Sorrow and Misery: And truly, were things never so much according to our desires, its but the World still, which will never be a resting-place. Heaven is the only state of Rest and Happiness; there we shall be perfectly free from Sin and Temptation, and enjoy God without interruption for ever.

Speaking of the Disappointment of their expectations in the work they had undertaken, he said with reference to the Glory of God, the Prosperity of the Gospel, and the delivery of the People of God, We have great Cause to lament it; but for that outward Prosperity that would have accompanied it, its but of small moment in it self; as it could not satisfy, so neither could it be abiding; for at longest, Death would have put an end to it all: Also adding, nay perhaps, we might have been so foolish, as to have been  
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taken with that part of it, with the neglect of our eternal concerns; and then I am sure our present circumstances are incomparably better.

He frequently express'd great concern for the Glory of God, and affection to his People, saying, If my Death may advance Gods Glory, and hasten the Deliverance of his People, it is enough; saying, It was a great comfort to him, to think of so great a privilege as an interest in all their Prayers.

In his Converse particularly valuing and delighting in those Persons where he saw most holiness shining; also great pity to the Souls of others, saying, That the remembrance of our former Vanity may well cause Compassion to others in that state. And in his Converse prompting others to Seriousness, telling them, Death and Eternity are such weighty concerns, that they deserve the utmost intention of our Minds; for the way to receive Death chearfully, is to prepare for it seriously; and if God should please to spare our Lives, surely we have the same reason to be serious, and spend our remaining days in his Fear and Service.

He also took great care that the Worship of God, which they were in a Capacity of maintaining there, might be duly perform'd; as Reading, Praying, and Singing of *Psalms*, in which he evidently took great delight.

For those three or four days before their deaths, when there was a general Report that no more should dye; he said, *I don't know what God hath done beyond our expectations; if he doth prolong my Life,*

Life, I am sure it is all his own, and by his Grace I will wholly devote it to him.

But the 29th of September, about ten or eleven at Night, we found the deceitfulness of this Report, they being then told they must dye the next Morning, which was very unexpected, as to the suddenness of it; but herein God glorified his Power, Grace, and Faithfulness, in giving suitable Support and Comfort by his blessed Presence, which appeared upon my coming to him at that time, finding him greatly composed; He said, Tho' Men design to surprize, God doth and will perform his Word, to be a very present help in trouble.

The next Morning when I saw him again, his Cheerfulness and Comfort were much increased, waiting for the Sheriff with the greatest sweetness and serenity of Mind; saying, Now the Will of God is determined, to whom I have referr'd it, and he hath chosen most certainly that which is best.

Afterward with a smiling Countenance, he discours'd of the Glory of Heaven, remarking with much delight the third, fourth, and fifth Verses of the 22th of the Revelations, And there shall be no more Curse; But the Throne of God, and of the Lamb, shall be in it, and his Servants shall serve him, and they shall see his Face, and his Name shall be in their Foreheads, and there shall be no Night there, and they shall need no Candle nor Light of the Sun, and they shall reign for ever and ever. Then he said, Oh, what a happy State is this! shall we be loath to go to enjoy this! Then he desired to be read to him 2 Cor. 5. For we know that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolv'd, we have a Building

*Building of God; a House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens; to the tenth or eleventh Verses. In all his Comforts still increasing, expressing his sweet Hopes and good Assurance of his Interest in this glorious Inheritance, and being now going to the possession of it, seeing so much of this happy Change, that he said, Death was more desirable than Life; he had rather dye than live any longer here. As to the manner of his Death, he said, When I have consider'd others under these Circumstances, I have thought it very dreadful, but now God hath call'd me to it, I bless God I have quite other apprehensions of it; I can now chearfully embrace it as an easie passage to Glory: and tho' Death separates from the Enjoyments of each other here, it will be but for a very short time, and then we shall meet in such Enjoyments as now we cannot conceive, and for ever rejoyce in each others Happiness. When reading the Scriptures, and musing with himself, he intimated the great Comfort God convey'd to his Soul in it; saying, O what an invaluable Treasure is this blessed Word of God; in all Conditions here is a store of strong Consolation. One desiring his Bible, he said, No, this shall be my Companion to the last moment of my Life. Thus praying together, reading, meditating, and conversing of Heavenly things, they waited for the Sheriff, who, when he came, void of all Pity or Civility, hurried them away, scarce suffering them to take leave of their Friends. But notwithstanding this, and the doleful mourning of all about them, the joyfulness of his Countenance was encreased. Thus he left his Prison, and thus he appear'd in the Sledge; where they sat about half an hour, before the Officers could force the Horses to draw,*



at which they were greatly enraged, there being no visible obstruction from weight or way. But at last the Mayor and Sheriff hall'd them forwards themselves, *Balam-like driving the Horses.*

VWhen they came to the place of Execution, which was surrounded with Spectators, many that waited their Coming with great sorrow, said, That when they saw him and them come with such cheerfulness and joy, and evidence of the Presence of God with them, it made Death appear with another Aspect.

They first embraced each other with the greatest Affection; then two of the elder Persons praying audibly, they joyn'd with great seriousness. Then he desired leave of the Sheriff to pray particularly, but he would not grant it; only asked him if he would pray for the King. He answered, *I pray for all men.* He then requested they might sing a *Psalm*; the Sheriff told him, *It must be with the Ropes about their Necks*; which they cheerfully accepted, and sung with such heavenly joy and sweetness, that many present said, *It both broke and rejoic'd their hearts.*

Thus in the experience of the delightfulness of praising God on Earth, he willingly closed his Eyes on a vain world, to pass to that Eternal Employment, *Sept. 30. 1685.*

All present of all sorts were exceedingly affected and amazed: Some Officers that had before insultingly said, *Surely these Persons have no thoughts of death, but will find themselves surprized by it*; after said, *That they now saw he and they had something extraordinary within that carried them through with such joy.* Others of them said, *That they were so*

convinc'd of their Happiness, that they would be glad to change Conditions with them. All the Soldiers in general, and all others, lamenting exceedingly, saying, That it was so sad a thing, to see them so cut off, they scarce knew how to bear it.

Some of the most malicious in the place, from whom nothing but railing was expected, said, (as they were carryed to their Grave in Taunton Church, voluntarily accompanied by most of the Town) That these Persons had left a sufficient Evidence, that they were now glorified Saints in Heaven. A great Officer in the King's Army has been often heard to say, That if you would learn to dye, go to the young Men of Taunton.

Much more was utter'd by them, which shew'd the blessed and glorious frames of their hearts (to the Glory of Divine Grace) but this is what occurs to memory.

Mr. Benjamin Hewling, about two hours before his Death writ this following Letter, which shew'd the great Compofure of his Mind.

Taunton Sept. 30. 1685.

Honoured Mother,

**T**hat News which I know you have a great while feared, and we expected, I must now acquaint you with. That notwithstanding the Hopes you gave in your two last Letters, Warrants are come down for my Execution, and within these few Hours I expect it to be performed. Blessed be the Almighty God that gives comfort and support in such a day; how ought we to magnifie his holy Name for all his Mercies, that  
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when we were running on in a course of sin, he should stop us in our full career, and shew us that Christ whom we had pierced, and out of his free Grace enable us to look upon him with an eye of Faith, believing him able to save to the utmost all such as come to him. Oh admirable long-suffering and patience of God, that when we were dishonouring his Name, he did not take that time to bring honour to himself by our destruction. But he delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but had rather he should turn to him and live: And he has many ways of bringing his own to himself. Blessed be his Holy Name, that through Affliction he has taught my heart to be in some measure to be conformable to his Will, which worketh patience, and patience worketh experience, and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed. I bless God I am not ashamed of the cause for which I lay down my life, and as I have engaged in it, and fought for it; so now I am going to seal it with my blood. The Lord still carry on the same Cause which hath been long on foot, and tho' we dye in it, and for it, I question not but in his own good time he will raise up other Instruments more worthy to carry it on to the glory of his Name, and the advancement of his Church and People.

Honoured Mother, I know there has been nothing left undone by you, or my Friends, for the saving of my Life, for which I return many hearty acknowledgments to your self and them all; and as my dying request to you and them, to pardon all uncharitableness and unkindness in every Relation. Pray give my Duty to my Grandfather and Grandmother, Service to my Uncles and Aunts, and my dear Love to all my Sisters; to every Relation and Friend a particular Recommendation. Pray tell 'em all how precious an interest in Christ

is when we come to dye, and advise them never to rest in a Christless Estate. For if we are his, its no matter what the World do to us, they can but kill the body, and blessed be God the Soul is out of their reach, for I question not but their malice wishes the damnation of that as well as the destruction of the Body; which has too evidently appeared by their deceitful flattering promises: I commit you all to the care and protection of God who has promised to be a Father to the Fatherless, and a Husband to the Widow, and to supply the want of every Relation. The Lord God of Heaven be your Comfort under these Sorrows, and your Refuge from these Miseries we may easily foresee coming upon poor England, and the poor distressed People of God in it. The Lord carry you through this vale of Tears with a resigning submissive Spirit, and at last bring you to himself in Glory; where I question not but you will meet your dying Son

Ben. Hewling.

### Their Characters.

They were both of very sweet and obliging Tempers, as has appeared in their History, it being a very hard matter for their worst Enemies, when they once knew 'em well, not to honour and love 'em. Mr. Benjamin, the elder, reconciled the Lamb and the Lyon exactly. In the Field he seem'd made only for War, and any where else, for nothing but Love. He, without flattery, deserv'd to be call'd a very fine man, of a lovely proportion, extreamly well made, as handsome a Meen, and good an Air, as perhaps few in  
England

England exceeded him: His Picture is pretty like him.

The younger, Mr. William, somewhat taller, and more slender. His Face fresh and lively, as his Spirit, being Master of an extraordinary vivacity and briskness of Temper. Both of 'em virtuous, pious and couragious far above their years, and indeed, seem'd to be *Men too soon*, one of 'em not being Twenty, the eldest but Two and twenty when they dy'd; verifying that common Observation, *That whatever is perfect sooner than ordinary, has generally a shorter Period prefix'd it, than what's more base and ignoble.*

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## Mr. Christopher Battiscomb.

HE was another young Gentleman of a good Family, and very great hopes, and of a fair Estate, which lay in *Dorsetshire*, somewhere between *Dorchester* and *Lyme*. He had studied sometime at the *Temple*, and having Occasions in the Country about the time of my Lord *Russel's* Business; he was there seiz'd, on suspicion of being concern'd in't, and clapt into the County Goal at *Dorchester*, where he behaved himself with that Prudence and winning Sweetness, and shew'd so much Wit, and innocent pleasantry of Temper, as extreamly obliged both all his Keepers and Fellow-Prisoners, and even Persons of the best Quality in that Town. 'Tis indeed a genteel well-bread place, as almost any in *England*,



at such a Distance from *London*. The Streets are fair and large, and Buildings pretty regular; two sweet plentiful Rivers running by it. It stands on a chalky Hill, but wants not store of good water. The Market-house is a pleasant little Pile, that very much sets off the Town. There are three Churches in't, and one in its adjoining Parish. 'Tis endowed with several Alms-houses, a good Grammar-School well enough provided, which has had the happiness of ingenious Masters, and by their Care, produced no inconsiderable number of good Scholars. There are two or three fine old Roman Fortifications near the Town, which *Camden* and *Speed* take notice of. The People on't are generally Civil and Galant enough, if not a little on the extream that way. They knew how to value such a Gentleman as Mr. *Battiscomb*, and made him such frequent Visits in the Prison, 'till the place it self was so far from being Scandalous, that there was generally all the Conversation, and where you might be sure to meet the best Company in the Town of both Sexes. Mr. *Battiscomb* had the happiness not to be displeasing to the fair Sex, who had as much Pity and Friendship for him as consisted with the Rules of Decency and Vertue; and perhaps their Respect for him did not always stop at Friendship, tho' it still preserved the other Bounds inviolable. Pity is generally but a little way from Love, especially when the Object of it is any thing extraordinary. But after he had been there some time, and nothing could be prov'd against him which could any ways affect him, he was at length, almost unwillingly deliver'd from this sort of hap-

py slavery. And when the Duke landed, appear'd with him, and serv'd him with equal Faith and Valour, till the Rout at *Sedgmoor*, when he fled with the rest, and got up as far as *Devonshire*, where he was seiz'd in a Disguise, and brought to his old Palace, the Prison at *Dorchester*.

He behav'd himself there the second time in the same courteous obliging manner as he did at the first; tho' now he seem'd more thoughtful, and in earnest than before, as knowing nothing was to be expected but speedy Death; Tho' his Courage never droopt, but was still the same, if it did not increase with his danger. At his Trial, *Jeffreys* rail'd at him with so much eagerness and barbarity, that he was observ'd almost to foam upon the Bench. He was very angry with him, because he was a *Lawyer*, and could have been contented all such as he should be hang'd up without any Trial; and truly 'twas no great matter whether he or the rest had had that Formality or no. Mr. *Battiscomb* was as undaunted at the Bar, as in the Field, or at Execution. How he demeaned himself in Prison before his Death, take this following Account *verbatim*, as 'twas written by his Friends. Tho' that which occur'd most remarkable after his Sentence, must not be omitted. Several young Ladies in the Town, among whom one, who is particularly mention'd in the Poem, went to *Jeffreys* to beg his Life, who repuls'd 'em at such a brutish rate, as nothing with one Spark of humanity would have been Guilty of, and in a manner even too uncivil to be mentioned. The Particulars may be seen in the Petition of the Widows and Orphans of that Country.

*The Account given of him by his Relations.*

HE was observed to be always serious and cheerful, ready to entertain Spiritual Discourse, manifesting Affection to God's People and his Ordinances; he seem'd to be in a very calm indifference to Life or Death, referring himself to God to determine it, expressing his great satisfaction as to some Opportunities of Escape that were slipt, saying, *That truly he sometimes thought the Cause was too good to flee from suffering in it, tho' he would use all lawful means for his life; but the Providence of God having prevented this, he was sure it was best for him, for he said he blest God he could look into Eternity with Comfort.* He said, with respect to his Relations and Friends, to whom his Death would be afflictive, *that he was willing to live, if God saw good; but for his own part, he thought Death much more desirable.* He said, *I have enjoyed enough of this World, but I never found any thing but Vanity in it, no rest or satisfaction.* God, who is an infinite Spiritual Being, is the only suitable Object for the Soul of Man, which is spiritual in its Nature, and too large to be made happy by all that this World can afford, which is all but sensual. Therefore methinks, I see no reason why I should be unwilling to leave it by Death, since our Happiness can never be perfected till then, till we leave this Body, where we are so continually clogg'd with Sin and Vanity, frivolous and foolish Trifles. Death in it self is indeed terrible, and Natural Courage is too low to incounter it; nothing but an interest in Christ can be our Comfort in it, he said, which Comfort I hope I have; intimating much advantage

to his Soul by his former Imprisonment.

The day he went from *Dorchester* to *Lyme*, after he had received the News of his Death the next day, he was in the same serious cheerfulness, declaring still the same apprehension of the desirableness of Death, and the great supports of his Mind under the Thoughts of so sudden passing through it alone from the hope of the Security of his Interest in Christ; taking leave of his Friends with this Farewel, *T'ho' we part here we shall meet in Heaven.* Passing by his Estate going to *Lyme*, he said, *Farewel Temporal Inheritance, I am now going to my heavenly Eternal one.* At *Lyme*, the Morning that he died, it appeared that he had the same supports from God, meeting Death with the same cheerfulness; and after he had prayed a while to himself, without any appearance of Reluctancy, yielded up his Spirit, Sept. 12. 1685.

A Poem on a Lady that came to my Lord Chief Justice, to beg Mr. *Battiscomb's* Life, Sister to one of the Sheriffs in the *West*, which he denied.

**H**Arder than thine own Native Rocks!  
To let the Charming *Silvia* kneel,  
And not one spark of Pity feel:

Harder than senseless Stones and Stocks!

Ye Gods! what showers of Pearls she gave?

What precious Tears? enough to save

A bleeding Monarch from the Grave.

170 A New Martyrology : Or,

By every hapless Virgin Curst :

Winter blasts not more unkind ;

Deaf as the rugged Northern Wind ;

By some Welsh Wolf in Murders nurs'd.

Hast thou Eyes ? or hast thou none ?

Or are they worse than Marble grown ?

Since Marbles weep at Silvia's moan.

Rebels stiff, and supple Slaves,

All the frantick World divide,

One must stoop , and t'other ride ;

Cringing fools, and Faction's Knaves ;

Tho' falling on the losers part,

Gently Death arrests my Heart,

And has in Honey dipt his Dart.

Life farewell, thou gaudy Dream,

Painted o're with griefs and joys,

Which the next short hour destroys ;

And drowns them all in Lethes Stream :

What blest Mortal would not die,

Might he with me Embalm'd lie,

In precious Tears from Silvia's Eye ?

His Character.

**A**LL that knew or saw him, must own, Mr. Battiseomb was very much a Gentleman. Not that thin sort of animal that flutters from Tavern to Playhouse and back again, all his Life made up of Wig and Crevat, without one dram of thought in his composition ; but one who had solid worth, well dress'd and set out to the World.

His



His Body made a very handsome and creditable tenement for his mind ; and 't had been pity it shou'd have liv'd in any other. He was pretty tall, well made, I think inclining to Black ; not altogether unlike Mr. *Benjamin Hewling*, as He has bin thought to resemble the Duke of *Monmouth*. He was Witty, Brave, exactly Honourable, Pious, and Virtuous : and if ever that Character belong'd to any man, it did eminently to Mr. *Battiscomb*, That he liv'd univ'rsally belov'd, and dy'd as generally lamented.

Mr. *William Jenkyns*.

His Father was sufficiently known, and his Circumstances hard enough, being seized only for his Opinion, and clapt up close in *Newgate* ; where the inconvenience of the place, and want of the Exercise he formerly enjoy'd, quickly kill'd him, as he used to say before his Confinement, 'twould certainly do if ever it happen'd. Thus was he requited by that very person for whom with Mr. *Love*, he ventured his his Life so deeply, and so hardly escaped with it. 'Twas his inhumane Treatment which edg'd and animated his Son ; and the revenge of his Fathers Blood may be presum'd to have gone very far in pushing him on to engage his Life and Fortune in this undertaking, he having given Funeral Rings for his Father with this Poë, *William Jenkyns, murder'd in Newgate*. He was his Fathers only Son, who had taken care to have him educated suitable to his ingenious Birth and Inclinations ; he improved sufficiently in all useful Learning, and was now about one or two and twenty. He and several young Gentlemen rode down from *London* a little before the Duke landed, and were taken on suspicion, and laid up in *Ilchester* Goal, till the Duke himself came and relieved them. He continued in his Army till the Rout, when, if I mistake not, he got to Sea, and was forced back again with the *Hewlings*, or some others. He was condemned at the Bloody Assizes in *Dorchester*.

A Friend discoursing to him at Dorchester about his Pardon, and telling him the doubtfulness of obtaining it, he replied, *Well, Death is the worst they can do, and I bless God, that will not surprize me, for I hope my great work is done. At Taunton being advised to govern the Airiness of his Temper, telling him, it made People apt to censure him, as inconsiderate of his Condition, to which he answer'd, Truly, this is so much my natural temper, that I cannot tell how to alter it; but I bless God I have, and do think seriously of my eternal Concerns; I do not allow my self to be vain, but I find cause to be chearful, for my Peace is made with God, through Jesus Christ my Lord; this is my only ground of Comfort and Chearfulness, the security of my Interest in Christ; for I expect nothing but Death, and without this I am sure Death would be most dreadful; but having the good hope of this, I cannot be melancholy. When he heard of the triumphant Death of those that suffered at Lyme, he said, This is a good encouragement to depend upon God. Then speaking about the mangling of their Bodies, he said, Well, the Resurrection will restore all with great advantage; the 15th Chapter of the first of the Corinthians is Comfort enough for all Believers. Discoursing much of the certainty and felicity of the Resurrection at another time, he said, I will, (as I think I ought) use all lawful means for the saving of my Life, and then if God please to forgive my sins, I hope I shall as chearfully embrace Death. Upon the design of attempting an escape, he said, We use this means for the preserving our Lives, but if God is not with us, it will not effect it; it is our business first to seek to him for Direction and Success, if he sees good, with resigning our Lives to him, and then his Will be done. After the Disappointments, when there was no prospect of any other Opportunity, he spake much of the admirableness of Gods Providence in those things that seem most against us, bringing the greatest good out of them; for, said he, We can see but a little way, God is only wise in all his Disposals of us; if we were left to chuse for our selves, we should choose our own Misery. Afterwards discoursing of the Vanity and unsatisfyingness of all things in this World, he said, It is so in the enjoying, we never find our Expectations answer'd by any thing in it, and when Death comes it puts an end to all things we have been pursuing here: Learning and Knowledge (which are the best things in this World) will then avail nothing; nothing but an interest in Christ is then of any worth. One reading to some of his Fellow-prisoners Jer. 42.*

12. *I will shew mercy unto you, that he may have mercy upon you, and cause you to return to your own Land;* he said, *Yes, we shall, but not in this World, I am perswaded.* September the 29<sup>th</sup>. at Night, after he heard he must die the next morning, he was exceedingly compos'd and chearful, expressing his Satisfaction in the Will of God: The next morning he was still more spiritual and chearful, discovering a very sweet Serenity of Mind in all that he said and did: Whilst he was waiting for the Sheriff, reading the Scriptures, meditating and conversing with those about him of Divine things, amongst other things, he said, *I have heard much of the Glory of Heaven, but I am now going to behold it, and understand what it is.* Being desir'd to disguise himself to attempt an escape, he said, *No, I cannot tell how to disturb my self about it, and methinks it is not my business, now I have other things take up my thoughts; if God saw good to deliver me, he would open some other Door; but seeing he has not, it is more for the honour of his Name we should die, and so be it.* One saying to him that most of the Apostles dyed a violent Death, he replied, *Nay, a greater than the Apostles our Lord himself dyed, not only a shameful, but a painful Death.* He further said, *This manner of Death hath been the most terrible thing in the World to my thoughts, but I bless God, now I am neither afraid nor ashamed to die.* He said, *The parting with my Friends, and their grief for me, is my greatest difficulty; but it will be but for a very short time, and we shall meet again in endless Joys, where my dear Father is already enter'd, him shall I presently joyfully meet.* Then musing with himself a while, he with an extraordinary seriousness sung these two Verses of one of Herbert's Poems:

*Death is still working like a Mole,  
Digging my Grave at each remove,  
Let Grace work so on my Soul,  
Drop from above.*

*Oh come! for thou dost know the way,  
Or if to me thou wilt not move,  
Remove me where I need not say,  
Drop from above.*

He then read the 53<sup>d</sup> of *Isaiah*, and said, He had heard many Blessed Sermons from that Chapter, especially from the

16th Verse, *All we like Sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, but the Lord hath laid on him the Iniquities of us all*; seeming to intimate some impress made on his Soul from them, but was interrupted; then he said, *Christ is all*. When the Sheriff came, he had the same chearfulness and serenity of mind in taking leave of his Friends, and in the Sledge, which seemed to increase to the last, (as those present have affirmed) joyning in Prayer, and in singing a Psalm with great appearance of Comfort and Joy in his Countenance, insomuch that some of his Enemies (that had before censured his chearfulness for unthoughtfulness of his Danger, and therefore expected to see him much surprized) now professed they were greatly astonished, to see such a Young Man leave the World, and go through Death as he did.

*Mr. Jenkyn's Letter to Mrs. Scot on the 26th of September, 1685.*

*Dear Sister,*

**T**HE News which came in my Brothers Letter of the 22d Instant to Mr. Dewy did not at all surprize me, for indeed I expected no other; and seeing all hopes of saving my Life are blasted, I thought my self bound to write a Line or two to so near a Relation as your self, wherein I might take my leave of you, and bid you farewell, till we shall meet again in Glory, and never be separated more: As for my own part, tho such a sort of Death as I am like to suffer, be that which I always dreaded when at a distance, I have sometimes thought of it, yet I thank my God now it draws near, even but a few hours off, I find my self supported under the thoughts of it, and hope by his strength, who will never forsake his own, I shall be enabled chearfully to undergo it with Glory to his Name, and Comfort to my own, and the Souls of others that are more nearly concerned for me; and as I have made it my own endeavour to submit to the Will of God in this sad Dispensation without murmuring or repining, I hope you have been sensible of your Duty in the same respect, which is, Patiently to submit to his Will, and eye his Hand in this severe stroke: And though God has been pleased to deny

deny success to your endeavours for the saving of my Life, yet I am satisfied nothing has been wanting on your parts; and for all the trouble you have been at on my account, tho' I do not live to shew my Gratitude, yet I render you my dying thanks, and beg your Prayers for my support in the last moments of my Life. If you receive this before my Death, the certain time of which I have not notice of, pray remember my Love to my Brother, and Thanks for all Kindnesses; and as for my young Relations, my Prayer for them shall be, That they may see more happy days than I have done, and die a more peaceable, I can't say more happy Death. And now, Dear Sister, I take my leave of you, and commit you to the protection of that God, who hath made every thing beautiful in his time, and will shew you the meaning of this Providence which now we do not understand, to whom, I trust I am now going, and into the enjoyment of whose Presence I doubt not but e're long you will meet, Dear Sister,

*Your affectionate Brother,*

William Jenkyn.

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Mr. Jenkyn's Letter to his Mother on the 29th of September, at 12 at Night, Taunton.

Dear and Honour'd Mother,

I Have even now received the News of Execution to morrow, which, tho' I have so short notice of, yet I hope I am prepared for it, and by God's strength enabling me, I shall joyfully be carry'd through it: The kindness you have been pleas'd to shew in your great Concern for me since I have been under this trouble, as well as the Duty I owe to so near a Relation as your self, engages me to acquaint you with my present condition for your satisfaction, which truly is such, that I must beg you to accept this present Letter for my last Farewel: And tho' this sad Providence cannot but be grievous to so near and affectionate a Relation as your self, yet I hope it already has, and still does, yield the peaceable fruits of Righteousness to your self and me, who have been severely exercised with it: As for my own part, I hope I can truly say, that God has by this Providence wean'd me from the World, and made me willing to leave, and



to be dissolved, that I may be with Christ, which is far better: And now I am come to die, I hope I can truly say, I have nothing else to do but to die; and having fought a good Fight, and finished my Course, I am now in expectation of that Crown of Reward, which God the righteous Judge of the whole Earth, has promised to all those that love his appearing; and as it is my great work to be now every moment fitting my self for my great and last change; so 'tis the Duty which belongs to you, and the rest of my dear Relations, to resign me up into the hands of that God, whose I am, and to whom I am going, and not repine at his righteous Will, which we ought quietly to submit unto. I bless God I die with a clear Conscience, and though I have deserved much worse at the hands of God for my past sins than I am like to undergo, yet I count, with respect to Man, I die a Martyr for the Protestant Religion, and meerly for doing my Duty in opposing of that flood of Popery which seem'd to be just overwhelming the Church and Interest of Christ in these Nations; and I wish that the Prudentialists of our Age, that have withdrawn their helping hand from so glorious a Design, do not within a few days feel the smart they have deserved by this their baseness. But being now just leaving the World, its grievous to look back on these things; wherefore dear and honoured Mother, I take leave of you also, hoping that I shall again meet with you in that place of happiness, where all Tears shall be wiped away from our Eyes, and we shall sorrow no more. I have nothing more to say, but to return you my dying Thanks for all the Trouble and Care you have been at for the saving my Life, which though God has not thought fit to make successful, yet my thankfulness is equally due to you for your endeavours, as if he had; therefore I shall end with the subscribing my self,

Dear and Honoured Mother,  
Your thankful and dutiful Son,  
William Jenkyn.

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Mr. Jenkyn's Letter to Mrs. Gourden on the 30th  
of September, 1685. at 4 Morning, Taunton.

Dear Sister,

**T**ho you are at a great distance from mine Eye, yet you are very near my Heart, so that to leave the World before

fore I have wrote a Line or two to bid you farewell, and comfort you under this sad Providence, would be uncomfortable to me: I hope you have by this time learnt how to welcome Evil as well as Good Tydings, and submit to the wise Disposer of all things, who knows what is good for us, better than we do for ourselves: Tho I question not but the news of my Death, especially in such a violent manner, as within a few hours I am to suffer, it will be afflictive to you; yet I would beg you to consider the Happiness which I am gon to, but a few years sooner taken out of a wicked and troublesome World unto the Quire of Triumphant Martyrs in Glory, which place of Happiness, though I have not deserved by any thing of my own Merits, yet for the Merits of my Mediator and Saviour, who has purchased more for me, than can enter into my Heart to conceive, I doubt not but I have a Mansion prepared for me in that place, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. And now, Dear Sister, I have nothing more to do in this World, but to be preparing and fitting my self for this place of rest, which within a few hours I am going to. I therefore leave you and yours to the protection and blessing of God, who is able to keep and Support you under this and all other his afflictive Providences, and bring a good issue out of them; and who will in his own good time conduct you safe to that place of happiness, where you will meet alone for Christ sake,

*Dear, Dear Sister,  
Your loving and affectionate Brother,  
William Jenkyn.*

Pray remember my Love and Respects to my Brother, and all that enquire after me.

### *His Character.*

**H**E was a very promising and ingenious young Gentleman; he had a great deal of ready Wit, and an extraordinary briskness and gaiety. He was a very good Scholar, had run through a Course of Philosophy; but his particular Inclination was to the Mechanical part of it, wherein he had a very happy Genius, and performed many pretty things. He wrote very good clean Latin. He was indifferent tall, pretty thin,

pretty thin, a fair Complection, his Nose a little inclining to one side, being hurt in his Infancy. He led a sober, virtuous Life, and dy'd a happy Death at Taunton, September 30. 1685.

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### Lady Lisle.

**H**AD those Persons who suffer'd about *Monmouth's* business, fell *only* into the hands of *Cannibals*, some of 'em; at least; had scaped better than they did from *Jeffreys*. Those more tame and civil Creatures would have spared the *old* and *withered*, though they had devoured the young and tender. But no Age, no Sex made any difference here; and as those who were just come into the World, Children and Girls of ten or a dozen years old were refused Pardon; so those who were half out of it, would not be suffered to rumble into the Grave *invire*, tho; as *Juvenal* says of *Priam*, they had scarce Blood enough left to *sing* the Knife of the Sacrifices: An Instance of this was my Lady *Lisle*, of such an Age; that she almost slept on her very Tryal, condemned for as small a matter as has been known, by one of those *dormant* Laws, made only in *terrorem*, but hardly ever executed; only for *corresponding* with *Nelthrop*, an out-law'd Person, and, as was pretended, giving him Shelter at her House, and *Hicks*; who brought him thither. For *Hicks*, he was not then convicted, nor in any Proclamation, and so 'tis a question whether she could, even in rigour of Law, deserve Death on his account. For *Nelthrop*, he himself says in his last Speech, [That he was wholly a Stranger to that worthy Lady; neither did she, as he verily believes, know who he was, or his Name, till he was taken.] For this she was found Guilty, and lost her Head at *Winchester*. Her Case was thought so hard, that the Honourable Court of Parliament are now on *reversing* her Judgment. At her Death she made the following Speech.

Gettlemen;

*The last Speech of the Lady Alicia Lisle.*

Gentlemen, Friends and Neighbours, it may be expected that I should say something at my Death, and in order thereunto I shall acquaint you, that my Birth and Education was both near this place, and that my Parents instructed me in the Fear of God, and I now dye of the Reformed Protestant Religion ; that if ever Popery should return into this Nation, it would be a very great and severe Judgment, that I dy in expectation of the pardon of all my sins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed Righteousness of Jesus Christ, he being the end of the Law for Righteousness to every one that believes ; I thank God through Jesus Christ, that I do depart under the Blood of Sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of *Abel* ; God having made this Chastisement an Ordinance to my Soul. I did once as little expect to come to this place on this occasion, as any person in this place or Nation ; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear : The Lord is a Sovereign, and will take what way he sees best to glorifie himself in, and by his poor Creatures ; and I do humbly desire to submit to his Will, praying to him, *That I may possess my Soul in Patience.* The Crime that was laid to my Charge, was for entertaining a Nonconformist Minister and others in my House ; the said Minister being sworn to have been in the late Duke of *Monmouth's* Army ; but I have been told, That if I had denied them, it would not at all have effected me ; I have no excuse but surprize and fear, which I believe my Jury must make use of to excuse their Verdict to the World. I have been also told, That the Court did use to be of Counsel for the Prisoner ; but instead of Advice, I had Evidence against me from thence ; which though it were only by hear-say, might possibly affect my Jury ; my Defence being but such, as might be expected from a weak Woman ; but such as it was, I did not hear it Repeated again to the Jury ; which as I have been informed, is usual in such Cases. However, I forgive all the World, and therein all those that have done me wrong ; and in particular, I forgive Colonel *Penruddock*, although he told me, that he could have taken these men before they came to my House. And I do likewise forgive him, who desired to be taken away from the Grand Jury to the Petty Jury, that he might

might be the more nearly concerned in my Death. As to what may be objected in reference to my Conviction, that I gave it under my hand, that I had Discourfured with *Nelthrop*; that could be no Evidence againft me, being after my Conviction and Sentence: I do acknowledge his Majefties Favour in Revoking my Sentence; I pray God to preferve him, that he may long Reign in Mercy, as well as Juftice; and that he may Reign in Peace; and that the Proteftant Religion may flourifh under him. I alfo return thanks to God and the Reverend Clergy, that affifted me in my Imprifonment.

ALICIA LISLE.

### Mr. Richard Nelthrop.

**H**IS Name is often enough met with in *Wefts* and *Rumseys* Plot, and good reason too, he being not near to anfwer for himfelf. As to what he was Accufed, Outlawed, and Executed for, his being concern'd in a Design for the Affaffination of the King and Duke, he folemnly avers, as may be feen below in his Speech, [*That he was always highly againft it, and detefted any fuch thing, was never in the leaft concern'd in it, neither in Purfe or Perfon; never knew of any Arms bought for that intent, nor did believe there was any fuch Design.*] Than which, what words could be more full and fatisfactory? He went away in the heat of Swearing, and return'd with the D. of *Monmouth*, thinking it his Duty, as he fays, to hazard his Life for the prefervation of the Proteftant Religion and Englifh Liberties; but as to the Duke of *Monmouth's* being declar'd King, he was wholly paffive in it. He was at firft committed to *Salisbury* prifon, where he had feveral Difputes with a learned and good man, whofe opinion then differ'd from his, concerning the lawfulness of Defending our felves by Arms againft illegal Violence, which was his firm Judgment. Thence he was brought to *London*, and imprifon'd in *Newgate*. He reject'd there with fcorn fome offers made him of faving his own Life by taking away other mens; and tho' he was under inexpressible trouble during his clofe Confinement there, which at length arofe to Diftraftion, and the impair of his Reason; yet 'tis remarkable that he, as *Bateman* before him, before he came to dye, after Sentence was very calm and lively again, the entire exercife of his Judgment and Underftanding returning, with more Joy and Comfort than he had before



fore Pain and Misery. He writ one Letter to his Parents, another to his Children, here inserted, together with his last Speech at his Execution the 30th of Octob. 1683. at 2 in the morning, he wrote the Letter to his Parents, &c.

Wherein he speaks much of his Brother, and Fellow-Sufferer Mr. *Ayloffe*, if I mistake not, *This pious and courageous man*, Mr. *Ayloffe* whom, he says, [He could embrace with more Joy in the Field of Suffering, than ever he could have done, London, about the same time that Mr. Nelthrope had he met him in the Field, crown'd with Victory and Lawrels.]

**Mr. Richard Nelthrope's Letter to his Parents, Brothers and Sister.**

*Dearest Parents, and ever loving Brothers, and tender hearted and beloved Sister,*

**T**Hrough the infinite goodness of God, the nearer I approach my End, the more Joy and Comfort I find in my suffering Estate, (that I may so call it :) I can through mercy say, that I have found more true Delight and Content this Night, than in all the Days and Nights of my whole life; and I hope the Lord will continue it, that his Name may be glorified by me the meanest and poorest of all his Servants, but through Free-grace faithful unto the end! My Soul is ravished, I can hardly write, and my Comforts are more unspeakable than my Terrors were. I did this Evening see my dearest Brother and Companion; his Face was to me as that of an Angel, and he gave me that Comfort, that I cannot but say my Love to him is beyond what I ever had to my dearest Relations. When God comes, every thing hath a beauty and lustre upon it, here is an Answer of Prayers, and such an Answer, as dearest Relations, must engage you all to be constant in the performance of that Duty, which like Jacob's Ladder, though it stand upon the Earth, yet it reaches up to Heaven: Here's the Love of God made manifest to a poor Sinner at the last hour, like the Thief upon the Cross, he that never knew before what the Love of God was to his Soul, finds it now filled with it, and running over. Now bless the

Lord, O my Soul ! yea, all that is within me, Bless his holy Name for this Dispensation. Now Light appears out of Darkness in the face of Jesus ; now all worldly Joy and Comforts seem to me (as they are) things not hard to part with ; Father, Mother, Brothers, Sister, Wife, Children, House and Lands are (as my dear Saviour saith) to be parted with for him, or we are not worthy of him : I bless his Name, I find no reluctancy to do it ; he hath brought me to his foot-stool, and I can say heartily, the Will of the Lord be done in this matter. I never before but saw a beauty in worldly Comforts, but now those seem so faded by the greater lustre and beauty that I see in God in Christ Jesus, that I am astonished where I have been wandring all my days, spending my time and my mony for that which is not bread. O strive to get a taste of this Love of God in Christ Jesus ! and it will perfectly wean you from this deceitful foolish World. What is worldly Honour and Riches ! O set not your hearts upon them, but get a Treasure in Heaven, that your hearts may be there also. O lose no time ! for if you ever knew the sweetness of it, you would never be at rest till you found him whom your Soul loved ; it will be more, yea infinitely more than all worldly Injoyments can afford you, tho' in their greatest perfection ; it will make your Life sweet, and your Death most comfortable : It is the Bread which this World knoweth not of, and therefore maketh little or no enquiry after it. Dearest Relations, whilst you and my other dear Friends are like *Aaron and Hur*, holding up the Hands of *Moses*, I am through Grace getting Victory over the *Amalekites*. I can embrace my dear and beloved Brother and Companion with more Joy in the Field of Suffering, than ever I could have done, had I met him crowned with the Laurels of Victory : Oh the mercy to dye with such a Friend, and such a valiant Souldier of Jesus, who hath kept his Garments clean. I now begin to pity you that stay behind, who have many Temptations to conflict with ; for a little, yea a very little time, and my warfare will be accomplished ; and if God continue his Love and Influence upon my Soul, it will be both short and sweet. I have little of this World about me, I leave you all the Legacy of what was ever dearest to me, the best of Wives, and five poor Children, who must pass through an evil and sinful World ; but I have committed them to God, who hath commanded to cast our Fatherless Children and Widows upon him. Dear Parents, Brothers, Sister, all adieu, my time draws on, my

Paper is finished, and your dying Child and Brother recommends you all to him who is all-sufficient, to the God of Peace that brought again from the Dead our Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the Sheep, through the Blood of the ever-lasting Covenant, who will make you perfect in every good work to do his Will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.

From the Palace of Newgate, Octob.  
the 30th. 1685. Two of the  
Clock in the Morning.

Richard Nelthrope.

Mr. Richard Nelthrope's Letter to his Children.

My Dear Children,

**T**HE Providence of God hath so ordered it, that your poor and ever-loving Father is taken from you in such a manner as may cast both worldly Loss and Reproach upon you; but I charge you let not this be a Stumbling-block to you in the way of God, but that you remember your Creator in the days of your Youth: That you never neglect a day without reading the Holy Scripture, wherein you'll find your Duty both to God and Man; there you'll find the way to everlasting Life; there you'll find Christ Jesus instructing you, and dying for you. Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, and all other things will be added to you: After your Duty to God Almighty, your Dying Father charges and conjures you, as you'll answer it at the great day of Appearance of our dearest Saviour, that you be dutiful and loving to the best of Mothers, as long as God shall continue that great Mercy to you: Harken to her Voice, and be obedient to the Words of her Mouth, for she'll be faithful to your Souls and Bodies; and remember that Obedience to Parents hath the promise of this Life, as well as of Eternal Life. Pay a great Duty and Obedience to your Grandfather and Grandmother, Uncles and Aunt, who all of them have not only testified the greatest Love to your Dying Father, but from whom, if you carry your selves as becomes you, you may expect both the good things of this World, and Advice and Counsel for what is far beyond all temporal Blessings. Diligence in your lawful Callings to which God shall in his Providence appoint you, is both commendable, and a

Duty ; but let not the eager pursuit of the things of this World juggle out the time allotted for better things : Prayer will bless what you get in your Employments, and so at once you obtain Gods Blessing upon worldly Mercies, and find God manifesting himself to you in his dear Son, Christ Jesus, in pardon of your sins, and receiving worldly things in the Covenant. Your tender Tears in which I leave you in this wicked and deceitful World, may render you subject to many Temptations ; but I commit you to the Father of the Fatherless, who is able to preserve you both in Soul and Body : Your poor Father hath no Legacy to leave you, but the blessing of the great Jehovah, which he begs for you upon the bended Knees of his Soul. The Lord God bless you with the Dew of Heaven, and if he sees good, give you Jacob's Portion, Food and Raiment ; and if the Lord bless you with any temporal Goods, remember they are Talents, employ them well to the Masters use : No Duty so acceptable to God as Charity, that's it which our Saviour exalts so far, that he saith, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom, for I was an hungry and ye fed me, naked and ye clothed me, sick and in Prison, and ye visited me. I die and leave you, but if you keep close to God and his ways, he will never leave you nor forsake you. The Sum of the whole is, Fear God and keep his Commandments. Do that to all others, that you would they should do to you, is the golden Rule of the Gospel, and will be a great Preservative to you from offending either God or Man. Eternity calls me away, and I have neither time nor opportunity to add more : Your Duties may be various in the World, as Servants, as Masters, as Husbands, and Wives, as Parents. There is no condition of Life but hath its Comforts and its Troubles ; the Lord fit you for whatsoever condition he calls you to, whether Honour or Dishonour, Riches or Poverty : But remember whatsoever it be, it is Gods Providence orders and governs the World. Dear James, as thou art the eldest, strive to be the best, and a good Example to the rest, a dutiful and a loving Son, Whatever thou or the rest have lost by me, God can make up in this Life. My dear Babes, who have been all Pledges of my Love, by the best and most affectionate Wife ; I do once more beg it of you, as my last Request, that you obey, love and honour her, who hath been the greatest worldly Blessing to your Father, and will never think any thing too much to do for you. My dear Children, Farewel, I must now take my leave both of you, and all worldly Comforts : I trust and hope I am going to the Eternal Inheritance, where sin and sorrow

cease ;



cease; and that I may meet you at the right Hand of my blessed Saviour, is the dying Prayer of,

Newgate, 29. Octob.  
1685.

Dear Children,

Your Affectionate and loving Father,  
Richard Nelthrope.

### Mr. Nelthrope's Last Speech.

THE great and inexpressible trouble and distraction I have been under since I came into trouble, especially since my close Confinement in *Newgate*, hath so broken my Reason, that for many Weeks last past, till the day my Sentence was passed, I have not had any composure of mind, and have been under the greatest trouble imaginable: Since my dearest Wife hath had the favour granted her of coming to me, I am at present under great composedness of Mind, thro the infinite goodness of the Lord. As to what I stand Outlawed for, and am now sentenced to die, I can with comfort appeal to the great God, before whose Tribunal I am to appear, that what I did was in the simplicity of my Heart, without seeking any private advantage to my self; but thinking it my Duty to hazard my Life for the preservation of the Protestant Religion and English Liberties, which I thought invaded, and both in great danger of being lost. As to the design of assassinating the late King, or his present Majesty, it always was a thing highly against my Judgment, and which I always detested; and I was never in the least concerned in it, neither in Purse nor Person, nor never knew of any Arms bought for that intent, nor did I believe there was any such design, or ever heard of any disappointment in such an Affair, or Arms, or Time or place, save what after the Discovery of the General Design, Mr. *West* spoke of, as to Arms bought by him: And as to my self, I was in the North when the late King was at *New-market*, and the first News I had of the Fire, was at *Beverly* in *Yorkshire*. As to my coming over with the late D. of *Monmouth*, it was in prosecution of the same ends; but the Lord in his Holy and wise Providence hath been pleased to blast all our undertakings; tho there seemed to be a very unanimous and zealous Spirit in all those that came from beyond the Seas: And as to the D. of *Monmouth*'s being declared King, I was wholly passive in it, I ne-



ver having been present at any publick Debate of that Affair, and should never have advised it, but complained of it to Col. *Holmes* and Captain *Patchet*. I believe the Lord *Gray* and Mr. *F——* the chief Promoters of it. As to the temptation of being an Evidence, and bringing either into trouble or danger the meanest Person of his Life, upon the Account for which I suffer, I always abhorred and detested the thoughts of it, both when in and out of danger, and advised some very strongly against it; except when under my Distractions in Prison, that amongst other temptations did violently assault me; but through the goodness of my dearest God and Father, I was preserved from it, and indeed was wholly incapable, and could never receive the least shadow of comfort from it, but thought Death more eligible, and was some time afore, out of my distracted and disquieted condition, wholly free from it; though not without other Temptations far more Criminal in the sight of men. I bless the Father of all Mercies, and God of all Conolations, that I find a great Resignedness of my Will to his, finding infinitely more comfort in Death, than ever I could place in Life, tho in a Condition that might seem honourable, every hour seeing the Will of God in ordering this Affair more and more cleared up to me. God hath given, God hath taken, blessed be his holy Name, that hath enabled me to be willing to suffer, rather than to put forth my hand to Iniquity, or to say a Confederacy with those that do so. I am heartily and sincerely troubled for what hath happened, many mens Lives being lost, and many poor distressed Families ruin'd; the Lord pardon what of sin he hath seen in it. He in his wonderful Providence hath made me and others concerned, Instruments, not only for what is already fallen out, but I believe, for hastening some other great work he hath to do in these Kingdoms; whereby he will try and purge his People, and winnow the Chaff from the Wheat: the Lord keep those that are his, faithful unto the end.

I die in Charity with all the World, and can readily and heartily forgive my greatest Enemies, even those that have been Evidences against me; and I most humbly beg the pardon of all that I have in the least any way injur'd; and in a special manner humbly ask pardon of the Lady *Lisle's* Family and Relations, for that my being succoured there one Night with Mr. *Hicks*, brought that worthy Lady to suffer Death: I was wholly a Stranger to her Ladiship, and came with Mr.

*Hicks,*

*Hicks* ; neither did ſhe (as I verily believe ) know who I was or my Name, till I was taken : And if any other have come to any loſs or trouble, I humbly beg their pardon ; and were I in a condition, I would, as far as I was able , make them a requital.

As to my Faith, I neither look nor hope for mercy, but only in the Free-grace of God, by the Application of the Blood of Jeſus, my deareſt and only Saviour, to my poor ſinful Soul. My Diſtreſſes have been exceeding great as to my Eternal State, but through the infinite goodneſs of God, tho' I have many ſins to answer for, yet I hope and truſt, as to my particular, that Chriſt came for this very end and purpoſe, to relieve the Oppreſſed, and to be a Phyſician to the Sick. *I come unto thee, O bleſſed Jeſus; reſuſe me not, but waſh me in thine own Blood, and then preſent me to thy Father as righteous! What tho' my Sins be as Crimſon, and of a Scarlet dye, yet thou canſt make them as white as Snow. I ſee nothing in myſelf but what muſt utterly ruine and condemn me, I cannot answer for one action of my whole Life, but I caſt my ſelf wholly upon thee, who art the Fountain of Mercy, in whom God is reconciling himſelf to the World, the greateſt of Sins and Sinners may find an All-ſufficiency in thy Blood to cleanſe 'em from all ſin. O deareſt Father of Mercy, look upon me as righteous in and through the imputed Righteouſneſs of thy Son; he hath payed the Debt by his own Offering up himſelf for ſin, and in that thy Juſtice is ſatisfied, and thy Mercy is magnified. Grant me thy Love, O deareſt Father, aſſiſt me and ſtand by me in the needful hour of Death, give thy Angels charge over my poor Soul, that the Evil One may not touch nor hurt it. Defend me from his power, deliver me from his rage, and receive me into thine Eternal Kingdom, in and through the alone Merits of my deareſt Redeemer, for whom I praiſe thee: To whom with thy ſelf and holy Spirit be aſcribed all Glory Honour, Power, Might and Dominion, for ever and for ever, Amen.*

Dear Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit, Amen.

Newgate, Octob. 29.

1685.

R. Nelthrope.

## Mrs. Gaunt.

ONE of the great Reasons why Mrs. Gaunt was burnt, was 'tis very possible, because *she lived at Wapping*; the honest Seamen and hearty Protestants thereabouts, being such known Enemies to Popery and Arbitrary Government, that the Friends of both gave all who oppose it the Name of *Wappingers*, as an odious Brand and Title. She was a good honest charitable Woman, who made it her business to relieve and help whoever suffer'd for the forementioned Cause, sparing no pains, refusing no office to get them assistance, in which she was the most industrious and indefatigable Woman living. Among others whom she had thus relieved, who were obnoxious persons, was one *Burton*, whom, with his Wife and Family, she had kept from starving, for which (may the very name of 'em be registred with Eternal Infamy) they swore against her, and took away her Life: Tho, as she says in her Speech, there was but one Witness against her as to any money she was charg'd to give him, and that he himself, an Outlawed person, his Outlawry not yet revers'd, he not being outlawed when she was with him, and hid him away. That which she writ in the Nature of a Speech, has a great deal of Sense and Spirit, and some strange Expressions which were mention'd in the Introduction to all these matters: which she concludes with these words address'd to her Enemies, [*From her that finds no Mercy from you.*]

*Mrs. Gaunt's Speech, written the day before her Sufferings.*

NOT knowing whether I should be suffer'd or able, because of weaknesses that are upon me through my hard and close Imprisonment, to speak at the place of Execution; I writ these few Lines to signifie, That I am well reconciled to the way of my God towards me, though it be in ways I looked not for; and by terrible things, yet in righteousness; having given me Life, he ought to have the disposing of it, when and how he pleases to call for it; and I desire to offer up my All to him, it being but my reasonable Service; and also the first Terms that Jesus Christ offers, that he that will be his Disciple must forsake all and follow him, and therefore let none think hard, or be discouraged at what hath happened unto me;

me; for he doth nothing without cause, in all he hath done to us, he being holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works; and 'tis but my lot in common with poor desolate *Sion* at this day. Neither do I find in my heart, the least regret for what I have done in the service of my Lord and Master *Jesus Christ*, in succouring and securing any of his poor Sufferers, that have shewed favour to his righteous Cause; which Cause, though now it be fall'n and trampled upon, as if it had not been anointed, yet it shall revive, and God will plead it at another rate than ever he hath done yet, and reckon with all its opposers and malicious haters; and therefore let all that love and fear him, not omit the least Duty that comes to hand, or lies before them, knowing that now it hath need of them, and expects they shall serve him. And I desire to bless his holy Name, that he hath made me useful in my generation to the comfort and relief of many desolate ones, and the blessing of those that are ready to perish has come upon me, and being helpt to make the Heart of the Widow to sing. And I bless his holy Name, that in all this, together with what I was charged with, I can approve my heart to him, that I have done his Will, tho' it does crosse Man's Will: and the Scriptures that satisfie me are *Isa. 16. 4. Hide the Outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth. And Obad. 13, 14. Thou shouldst not have given up those of his that did escape in the day of his distress.* But Man says, You shall give them up, or you shall dye for it. Now who to obey, Judge ye. So that I have cause to rejoyce and be exceeding glad, in that I suffer for righteousness sake, and that I am accounted worthy to suffer for well doing, and that God has accepted any service from me, which has been done in sincerity, tho' mixed with manifold infirmities, which he hath been pleased for Christ's sake to cover and forgive. And now as concerning my Fact, as it is called, alas it was but a little one, and might well become a Prince to forgive; but he that shews no Mercy, shall find none: And I may say of it in the language of *Jonathan*, *I did but taste a little honey, and lo I must dye for it.* I did but relieve an unworthy, poor, distressed Family, and so I must dye for it. Well, I desire in the Lamb-like Gospel-Spirit, to forgive all that are concerned, and to say. Lord lay it not to their Charge; but I fear he will not: Nay, I believe when he comes to make Inquisition for Blood, it will be found at the door of the furious Judge; who because I could not remember things through my dauntedness at *Burton's Wife* and Daughters vileness, and my ignorance, took advantage thereat, and would

would not hear me, when I had called to mind that which I am sure would have invalidated their Evidence; though he granted something of the same nature to another, yet denied it to me. My Blood will also be found at the door of the unrighteous Jury, who found me Guilty upon the single Oath of an Out-law'd man; for there was none but his Oath about the Mony, who is no legal Witness, though he be pardon-ed, his Outlawry not being recall'd; and also the Law requires two Witnesses in point of Life: And then about my going with him to the place mentioned, 'twas by his own Words, before he was Outlawed, for 'twas two Months after his absconding; and though in a Proclamation, yet not High Treason, as I have heard; so that I am clearly murder'd by you. And also bloody Mr. A. who has so insatiably hunted after my Life; and though it is no profit to him, through the ill will he bore me, left no stone unturn'd, as I have ground to believe, till he brought it to this; and shewed favour to *Burton*, who ought to have dyed for his own fault, and not bought his Life with mine; and Capt. R. who is cruel and severe to all under my Circumstances, and did at that time, without all mercy or pity, hasten my Sentence, and held up my hand, that it might be given; all which, together with the Great One of all, by whose power all these, and a multitude more of Cruelties are done, I do heartily and freely forgive, as against me; but as it is done in an implacable mind against the Lord Christ, and his righteous Cause and Followers, I leave it to him who is the Avenger of all such Wrongs, who will tread upon Princes as upon Mortar, and be terrible to the Kings of the Earth: And know this also, that though ye are seemingly fixt, and because of the Power in your hand are writing out your Violence, and dealing with a despiteful hand; because of the old and new hatred; by impoverishing and every way distressing of those you have got under you; yet unless you can secure Jesus Christ and all his Holy Angels, you shall never do your business, nor your hands accomplish your Enterprizes; for he will be upon you ere you are aware; and therefore. O that you would be wise, instructed and learn, is the desire of her that finds no mercy from you,

*Elizabeth Gaunt.*

### *The Earl of Argyle.*

**W**E must now take a step over into *Scotland*, that poor Country, which has been harass'd and



and tired for these many years to render them perfect Slaves, that they might help to enslave *England*, to prevent which, and secure the Protestant Religion, which 'twas grown impossible to do, but by Arms; this good Lord embark'd from *Holland* about the same time with the Duke, and arrived in *Scotland* with what Forces he could make; to which were added some others who joyn'd him; which after several Marches and Counter-marches, were at length led into a Boggy sort of a place on pretence, or with intention to bring him off from the other Army then upon the heels of 'em, where they all lost one another, dispers'd and shifted for themselves; the E. being taken by a Country-man, and brought to *Edinburgh*, where he suffer'd for his former unpardonable Crime — requiring Care shou'd be taken of the Protestant Religion, and explaining his taking the Test conformable thereto; for the Legality of which he had the hands of most of the eminent Lawyers about the City. He suffer'd at *Edinburgh* the 30th of June, 1685. His Speech has a great deal of Piety and Religion, nor will it be any disgrace to say, 'twas more like a Sermon.—'Tis as follows.

*The Earl of Argyle's last Speech, June 30. 1685.*

**J**OB tells us, *Man that is born of a Woman, is of few days, and full of trouble*; and I am a clear Instance of it. I shall not now say any thing of my Sentence, or escape about three years and a half ago; nor of my return, lest I may thereby give Offence, or be tedious: Only being to end my days in your Presence, I shall, as some of my last Words, assert the truth of the matter of Fact, and  
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the Sincerity of my Intentions, and Professions that are published.

That which I intend mainly now to say, is, To express my humble, and (I thank God) chearful Submission to his Divine Will; and my willingness to forgive all Men, even my Enemies; and I am heartily well satisfied there is no more Blood spilt, and I shall wish the stream thereof may stop at me: And that (if it please God) to say, as to Zerubbabel, Zech. 4. 6. *Not by might, nor by Power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.*

I know Afflictions spring not out of the dust: God did wonderfully deliver and provide for me, and has now by his special Providence brought me to this place; and I hope none will either insult, or stumble at it, seeing they ought not; for God Almighty does all things well, for good and holy Ends, tho we do not always understand it. Love and hatred is not known by what is before us, *Eccles. 9. 1. and 8. 11, 12, 13.*

Afflictions are not only foretold, but promised to Christians; and are not only tolerable, but desirable.

We ought to have a deep Reverence and Fear of God's displeasure; but withal, a firm hope and dependance on him for a blessed Issue, in compliance with his Will; for God chastens his own, to refine them, and not to ruine them, whatever the World may think, *Heb. 12. 3. to 12. Prov. 3. 11, 12. 2 Tim. 1. 8. 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12. Matth. 10. 18. to 40. Matth. 16. 24. to 28.*

We are to imitate our Saviour in his Sufferings, as *1 Pet. 2. 23. and 1 Pet. 4. 16. to 20.*

We are neither to despise our Affliction, nor to faint under them; both are extremes.

We are not to suffer our Spirits to be exasperated against the Instruments of our trouble; for the same Affliction may be an effect of their Passion, and yet sent by God to punish us for sin. Tho'tis a Comfort when we may say to them, with David, Psal. 59. 3. *Not for my transgression, not for my sin, O Lord.*

Nor are we, by fraudulent pusillanimous Compliances in wicked Courses, to bring sin upon our selves: Faint Hearts are ordinary. False Hearts; choosing Sin rather than Sufferings, and a short Life with eternal Death, before Temporal Death and a Crown of Glory: Such seeking to save a little, loses all; and God readily hardens them to proceed to their own destruction. How many, like Hazael, 2 King. 8. 13. run to excesses they never thought they were capable of! Let Rulers and others read seriously, and weigh, *Prov. 1. 10. to 20. 1 Chr. 28. 6. to 17. Prov. 24. 1. 12. and Prov. 28. 10.* and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good.

For me, I hope by Gods strength to joyn with Job, ch. 13. 15. and the Psalmist, Ps. 22. 4. & 167. and shall pray, as Ps. 74. 19. to 24. and Ps. 122. 6. to 9. & Luke 1. 74. 75. and shall hope, as Psal. 94. 14. 15.

I do freely forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cause of my being brought to this place, first or last; and I pray God forgive them. I pray God send Truth and Peace in these Three Kingdoms; and continue and increase the glorious Light of the Gospel, and restrain the Spirit of Prophanity, Atheism, Superstition, Popery, and Persecution; and restore all that have back-slidden from the

the Purity of their Life or Principles; and bless his whole People with all Blessings, spiritual and temporal, and put an end to their present Trials.

And I intreat all People to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, *That the great, good, and merciful God, would sanctifie my present Lot, and for Jesus Christ his sake Pardon all my Sins, and receive me to his Eternal Glory.*

It is suggested to me, That I have said nothing of the Royal Family; and it remembers me, that before the Justices at my Trial about the *Test*, I said, that at my Death I would pray, That there should never want one of the Royal Family to be a *Defender* of the True, Ancient, Apostolick, Catholick, Protestant *Faith*; which I do now: And that *G O D* would enlighten and forgive all of them that are either luke-warm, or have shrunk from the profession of it. And in all Events, I pray God may provide for the Security of his Church, that *Antichrist*, nor the Gates of Hell may never prevail against it.

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#### Colonel Rumbold.

**A**T the same place died Colonel *Richard Rumbold*, Jan. 26. 1685. most of what occur'd considerable in his Defence and Speech, you have had already in the Business of the Assassination. Two or three Passages more there are worth Remarks in the same, as Arguments of his Sense and Courage. [For this Cause, he says, were every hair of his head and beard a Life, he'd joyfully sacrifice 'em all.] That he was never Antimonarchical in his Principles, but for a King and Free

Parliament; the King having power enough to make him great, and the People to make 'em happy.] That [he died in the Defence of the just Laws and Liberties of the Nations. That [none was markt by God above another; for no man came into the World with a saddle on their backs, nor others booted and spur'd to ride upon't.] And being askt if he thought not his Sentence dreadful, answer'd, [He wisht he had a Limb for every Town in Christendom].

### JAMES Duke of Monmouth.

**T**He last Person with whom we shall conclude this mournful Tragedy, and the greatest in it, is the late James D. of Monmouth; one indeed, who, if he had been a little less, might have been at this time one of the greatest men both in England and the World. By reason of some passages in his Life, not so defensible, 'twas thought, at first, better to draw a veil before that unfortunate Prince, and say nothing at all of him. But what allowances are made for Custom and Education, God only knows. I remember a shrewd Answer given to an Objection of this Nature, *Where*, said one, *shou'd he learn any better?* But however, where there has been any time to think soberly of past actions, or none of that nature reiterated, Charity is oblig'd to judge favourably. And besides, the good *West-Country-men* wou'd be very angry if they shou'd not find their Master that they lov'd so well, and suffer'd so much for, among the rest of these noble *Hero's*. None can deny but he was a great General, a Man of  
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Courage and Conduct, and great Personal Valour, Having signaliz'd himself both at *Mons* and *Mues-tricht*, so as to gain an high and just reputation. He was all along true and firm to the Protestant Interest in and out of Parliament, tho' abhorring any base way of promoting it, as well as his Friend my *L. Russel*. This intended as a Character rather, or very short *Compendium*, than any History of his Life. He was all along the Peoples *Darling*, whose hearts were entirely his by his Courtesie and Affability; as other Persons lost 'em by their *lowerness* and *haughty pride*. After *Russel's* death he went into *Flanders*, whence had he prosecuted his Design, and gone, as 'tis said, he intended, into the Emperour's Service, how many Lawrels might he have won, and how many more would now have been growing for him. But his *Fate* was otherwise—he came over into *England*, an exact account of whose Enterprize another place of this Book presents you, as 'twas compiled by one present in all that action. After the defeat of his Army at *Sedge-moor*, he fled with my *L. Gray*, who was first taken, and he himself a little after brought up to *London*, and, on his *Attainder* in Parliament, beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. 'Tis said a certain brave old Officer, who then came over with him, and since with the Prince, offer'd with a small party of Horse, to have ventur'd thro' all the Guards, and took him off the Scaffold. But they cou'd not be got together, his time was come. Providence had design'd other things, that our deliverance should be more just, and peaceable, and wonderful, and that the glory thereof shou'd be reserved for their Sacred Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Whom God grant long to Reign.

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But to compleat our Western Martyrology, (and that we might not be too tedious) we shall now proceed to give the particular Cases of others that were Condemn'd and Executed in the West, with their *Christian* behaviour and dying Speeches, as their plain Country Friends have preserv'd 'em.

And we begin with Mr. *Matthew Bragg*, who was a Gentleman, and descended from an ancient and good Family; he was bred an Attorney, in which he practis'd the Law: His Case being this, He hapned to be upon the Road riding home to his House, being come from a Gentleman's House for whom he kept Courts. He, as before, being met with by a Party of Horse belonging to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who were going to search the House of a *Roman Catholick* for Arms, who lived two or three Miles from the place they met him, they required him to go with them, and shew them the way, he knowing the Country better than they did; he desired to be excused, telling them, *It was none of his business, and besides had no Arms*. But his Excuses signified nothing, they forced him amongst them, where they went; when being come, a Party enter'd the House and searcht it: Mr. *Bragg* never dismounted, they being then satisfied, took him along with them to *Chard*, where then the Duke of *Monmouth* was. Being there, after having set up his Horse where he used to do, often having occasion there, he was much tamper'd with to engage in the Design, but he refused it, but the next morning made haste out of Town, not seeing the Duke at all; calling for his Horse,

it was told him, *That it was seized for the Duke's Service.* So then he took his Cane and Gloves, and walked to his own House, which was about five or six Miles, and was no more concern'd in the Affair, than that after the Duke's Defeat at *Kings-Sedge-Moore*, some busie person informeth, and requireth a Warrant from a Justice of Peace for the said Mr. *Bragg*, who obliged himself to enter into a Recognizance to appear at the next Assizes, the said Justice accounting the matter in it self but trivial; and indeed all Men did judge him out of danger. At *Dorchester* he appeared in Court to discharge his Bail, on which he was presently Committed, and the next day being Arraigned, pleading *Not guilty*, put himself on the Trial of God and his Country, which found him and 28 more of 30, Guilty; the Lord Chief Justice often saying, *If any Lawyer or Parson came under his Inspection, they should not escape*; the Evidence against him was the *Roman Catholick*, whose House was search'd, and a woman of ill Fame, to whom the Lord Chief Justice was wonderfully kind; but his Evidence which were more than Twenty, to prove his Innocence, signified nothing; the Jury being well instructed by my Lord Chief Justice. Being thus found Guilty, Sentence was presently pronounced, and Execution awarded, notwithstanding all the Interest that was made for him, as before recited.

Thus being Condemned *Saturday*, and ordered to be Executed *Monday*, he spent the Residue of his little time very devoutly, and much becoming a good Christian, and a true Protestant of the Church of *England*, all which availed nothing with

with this Protestant Judge : he was frequently visited by a worthy Divine of the Church of *England*, who spent much time with him, and received great satisfaction from him. The said Divine told me, *That his Deportment, Behaviour and Converse was so much like an extraordinary Christian, that he could not in the least doubt but this violent passage would put him into the fruition of happiness.* He wished and desired a little longer time, out of no other design, but throughly to repent him of his Sins, and make himself more sensible of, and fit for to receive the Inheritance that is prepared for those that continue in well-doing to the end. When he came to the place of Execution with great Courage and Resolution, being, as he said, *prepared for Death*, He behaved himself very gravely and devoutly. Being asked, when he was on the Ladder, *Whether he was not sorry for his being concerned in the Rebellion?* He replied, *That he knew of none that he was Guilty of;* and prayed them not to trouble him; adding, *He was not the first that was martyr'd; he was so much a Christian as to forgive his Enemies.* And after some private Devotions he suddenly was Translated, as we have all hopes to believe, from Earth to Heaven. The only Favour of this Protestant Judge, was to give his Body to his Friends, in order to its Interment amongst his Ancestors.

*The Behaviour of Mr. Smith Constable of Chardstock.*

**A**Nother eminent Person that suffered with him at the same time and place, was one Mr. *Smith*, who was Constable of *Chardstock*, who having some Monies in his hands that belonged to the Militia, which came to the knowledge of some of the Dukes Friends, they obliged him to deliver it to them, which he was forced to deliver; and for this was Indicted for High Treason, in assisting the Duke of *Monmouth*. To which he pleaded *Not Guilty*. The Evidence against him were the same with those that had been against Mr. *Bragg*. The said Mr. *Smith* informed the Court and the Jury, what little Credit ought to be given to the Evidence. The Lord Chief Justice thundered at him, saying, *Thou Villain, methinks I see thee already with a Halter about thy Neck; thou impudent Rebel, to challenge these Evidences that are for the King.* To which the Prisoner reply'd very boldly, *My Lord, I now see which way I am going, and right or wrong I must dye; but this I comfort myself with, That your Lordship can only destroy my Body; it is out of your Power to touch my Soul. God forgive your rashness; pray, my Lord, know it is not a small matter you are about, the Blood of Man is more precious than the whole World.* And then was stopped from saying any more. The Evidences being heard, a strict Charge was given the Jury about him. To be short, the Jury brought him in Guilty; so that he with the rest received the  
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Sentence of Death all together, and were Executed on *Monday* ; but by particular order from my Lord, he was ordered to be first Executed. The day being come for Execution, being *Monday*, he with a Courage undaunted, was brought to the Place , where with Christian Exhortations to his Brethren that suffered with him, he was ordered to prepare, being the first to be executed , where he spake as followeth : *Christian Friends, I am now as you see lanching into Eternity ; so that it may be expected I should speak something, before I leave this miserable World, and pass through those Sufferings, which are dreadful to Flesh and Blood ; which indeed shall be but little, because I long to be before a just Judge, where I must give an account, not only for the occasion of my Sufferings now, but for Sins long unrepented of, which indeed hath brought me to this dismal place and shameful Death. And truly, dear Country men, having ransaked my Soul, I cannot find my small concern with the Duke of Monmouth doth deserve this heavy Judgment on me; but I know, as I said before, it is for Sins long unrepented of ; I dye in Charity with all men ; I desire all of you to bear me witness I dye a true Professor of the Church of England ; beseeching the Lord still to stand up in the defence of it. God forgive my passionate Judges, and cruel and hasty Fury ; God forgive them, they know not what they have done. God bless the King ; and though his Judges had no mercy on me, I wish he may find Mercy when he standeth most in need of it : Make him, O Lord, a nursing Father to the Church ; let Mercy flow abundantly from him, if it be thy will , to those poor Prisoners, to be hereafter tried ; and Lord, if it be thy holy will, stop this issue of Christian Blood, and let my Guiltless Blood be*

*the last spilt on this account. Gentlemen all farewell, farewell all the things of the World : Then singing some few Verses of a Psalm, and putting up some private Ejaculations to himself, said, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit, and so submitted to the Executioner, Sept. 7. 1685.*

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*The Behaviour and dying Speech of Mr. Joseph Speed of Culliton.*

**A**T the same time and place, as he came near the place of his Execution, he spying his Countryman and Friend, called him, and said, I am glad to see you here now, because I am not known in these parts ; being answered by his Friend, I am sorry to see you in this condition : He replies, It is the best day I ever saw ; I thank God I have not lead my Life as Unchristian like as many have done, having since the years of 16 always had the Checks of Conscience on me, which made me to avoid many gross and grievous Sins, my course of Life hath been well known to you, yet I cannot justifie my self, all Men err, I have not been the least of Sinners, therefore cannot excuse my self ; but since my confinement, I have received so great comfort, in some assurance of the Pardon of my Sins, that I can now say, I am willing to die, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, and say to Death, Where is thy Sting, and to Grave, Where is thy Victory ? Being ask'd by some rude Soldiers, Whether he was not sorry for the Rebellion he was found guilty of ? He courageously reply'd, If you call it

a Rebellion, I assure you I had no sinister ends in being concerned ; for my whole design in taking up Arms under the D. of *M.* was to Fight for the Protestant Religion, which my own Conscience dictated me to, and which the said Duke Declared for, and had, I think, a lawful Call and Warrant for so doing, and do not question that if I have committed any sin in it, but that it is pardoned ; Pray Mr. *Sheriff* let me be troubled no farther in answering of Questions, but give me leave to prepare my self, ( those few minutes I have left ) for another World, and go to my Jesus, who is ready to receive me : Then calling to his Friend who stood very near him, said, My dear Friend, you know I have a dear Wife and Children, who will find me wanting , being somewhat incumbred in the World, let me desire you as a dying Man to see that she be not abused ; and as for my poor Children, I hope the Father of Heaven will take care for them, and give them Grace to be dutiful to their distressed Mother ; and so with my dying Love to all my Friends, when you see them, I take leave of you, and them, and all the World, desiring your Christian Prayers for me to the last moment ; then repeating some Sentences of Scripture, as *Collossians, Chap. 3. ver. 1, 2. If you then, &c.* and praying very fervently, said, I thank God I have satisfaction ; I am ready and willing to suffer shame for his Name : And so pouring forth some private Ejaculations to himself, and lifting up his hands, the Executioner did his Office : The Soldiers then present said, They never before were so taken with a dying Man's Speech ; his Courage and Christian-like Re-

solution, caused many violent men against the Prisoners, to repent of their Tyranny towards them; some of whom in a short time dyed full of horror: And thus fell this good Man, a true Protestant, and one that held out to the end.

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*An Account of those that suffer'd at Bridport and Lime.*

**A**T *Bridport* one *John Sprake*, who was a very good Man, and behaved himself with a great deal of Christian-like Courage to the end: His Speech and his Devotions, &c. must be omitted, not being possible to take them, by reason of the rudeness, &c. and the shortness of the time allowed him by the Soldiers.

Next place was *Lime*, where many of Note dyed: Particularly, Col. *Holmes*, who was the first of those there executed, near the same place where they landed, when they came ashore with the Duke of *M.* being brought to the place after some difficulty; for the Horses that were first put into the Sled would not stir, which obliged those concerned to get others, which they did from the Coachman, who had that morning brought them to Town; when they were put into the Sled, they broke it in pieces, which caused the Prisoners to go on foot to the place of Execution; where being come, as I told you before, the Colonel began thus at the foot of the Ladder; he sat down with an Aspect altogether void of Fear, but on the contrary with a kind of smiling Countenance,

tenance, so began to speak to the Spectators to this purpose, That he would give them an account of his first undertaking in the design, which was long before in *London*; for there he agreed to stand by and assist the D. of *M.* when opportunity offer'd, in order to which he went to *Holland* with him, and there continued, until this Expedition, in which God had thought fit to frustrate his and other good Mens Expectations: He believed the Protestant Religion was bleeding, and in a step towards Extirpation, and therefore he with these his Brethren, that were to suffer with him, and Thousands more had adventured their Lives and their All to save it; but God Almighty had not appointed 'em to be the Instruments in so glorious a Work; yet notwithstanding he did verily believe, and doubted not, but that God would make use of others, that should meet with better success, tho the way or means was not yet visible, but of this he did not doubt: He also was satisfied of the D's Title, so that matter did not afflict him on account of his engaging on his Score: And going on further with a Discourse of this nature, he was asked by a Person, *Why he did not pray for the King?* He with a smiling Countenance answer'd, *I am sorry you do not yet understand the difference between Speaking and Praying:* And having ended his Discourse, he then prepared himself by Prayer for his Dissolution, which was very devout and pious for half an hour; which was as follows.



## Colonel Holme's Last Prayer.

**M**ost glorious, most great, and most merciful God, there is none in Heaven or in Earth that is like unto thee; Heaven is thy Throne, and the Earth is thy Footstool; who shall say unto thee, What doest thou? Here we are poor deplorable Creatures come to offer up our last Prayers, and Services unto thee; we beseech thy favourable Ear to our Prayers, and the comfort of thy holy Spirit, at this time; we praise and magnifie thy name, for all the Dispensations of thy Providence towards us, especially for this thy Providence, in bringing us to this place and at this time, to suffer shame for thy Name: Help and assist all of us to submit to thy Will patiently. Pardon all our sins, remove them out of thy Presence as far as the East is from the West, and accept of us in the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ; thou who art the Searcher of Hearts, and Tryer of Reins, let there not at the moment of Death be the least spark of sin indwelling in us, nor the strivings of Flesh and Blood, that may hinder us from a joyful passage unto thee: Give us patience also under these Sufferings, and a deliverance to all others from undergoing them, and in thy good time work a deliverance for poor England, let thy Gospel yet flourish among them, hasten the downfall of Antichrist, we trust the time is near come; Prevent, O Lord, this effusion of Christian Blood; and if it be thy Will, let this be the last: Lord, bless this Town, let them from the highest to the lowest set the fear of God before their Eyes: Bless all sorts and conditions of Men in all Ranks and Qualities, pardon all their sins, give them all true Repentance, and the Grace of thy Holy Spirit; fit and prepare us for the

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cheerful fulfilling of thy Holy Will ; let the Comforter be still with us ; be merciful to all our Friends, and Relations, and Acquaintance ; forgive our Enemies, accept of our thankfulness for all the Mercies and Favours afforded us, and hear and graciously answer us in these our Request, and what else thou knowest needful and expedient for us, and all for our Redemer the Lord Jesus Christ his sake ; who dyed for us, that we might Reign with him for ever and ever, to whom with thee and thy blessed Spirit of Grace be ascribed, as is most due, all honour, glory, and praise, both now and for ever.

After having ended his Prayer, he took occasion to speak to his suffering Brethren, taking a solemn leave of them, encouraging them to hold out to the end, and not to waver, observing that this being a glorious Sun-shining day, I doubt not though our Breakfast be sharp and bitter, it will prepare us, and make us meet for a comfortable Supper, with our God and Saviour, where all sin and sorrow shall be wiped away ; so embracing each of 'em, and kissing of them, told the Sheriff, *You see I am imperfect, only one Arm, I shall want assistance to help me upon this Tragical Stage ; which was presently done, and Execution suddenly followed.*

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*Now follows the Execution of Mr. Sam. Larke;*

**M**R. Sampson Larke, who was a very eminent pious man, and had lived in that Town but, little before, many years ; he was there well acquainted, and all People that knew him had a value for him, behaving himself with that

that Humility and Circumspection, as no body could have any other occasion but to value him: He design'd to have spoken somewhat on a portion of Scripture, and was beginning, having mentioned the place he intended to speak upon, but was interrupted and told, the work of the day being great, they should want time. So then he stopt and reply'd, *He could make application where he should not meet with interruption*: And so apply'd himself to Prayer, which he performed with great Devotion and Zeal for a quarter of an hour, to the great satisfaction of the Auditors; and so taking leave of his suffering Brethren, he mounted the Stage, which was to be the last Act he made in this World; being on the Ladder, he saw some of his Friends and Neighbours, weeping and mourning for him, to whom he spake, *Pray weep not for me, I am going to a place of Bliss and Happiness, wherefore pray repair to your Houses, and ere you get thither, I doubt not, but I shall be happy with my God and Saviour, where all tears shall be wiped away, and nothing shall remain but Hallelujahs to all Eternity.*

There was also Mr. William Hewling of London, a young Gentleman under Twenty, who came over with the Duke of M. he seemed to be in a calm, and composed frame of Spirit, and with a great deal of Courage and Seriousness, he behaved himself: There is already something said of his Converse and Discourse, which amongst others is printed; therefore we shall say nothing more of him, but that in all manner of appearance he dy'd a good Christian, a true Protestant, and doubtless now enjoys the benefit of it. There were several worthy men more there executed, viz. Mr. Christ.

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*Battiscombe, Dr. Temple, Captain Matthews, Captain Kid, &c.* in all twelve, who all of them dyed with that Courage and Resolution as became Christians, and such who eminently had adventured their Lives and Fortunes, in defence of what was most dear to them; and namely our Religion, which though God did not think fit to defend and secure it, yet in his wisdom we hope it will be in some measure secured by other Instruments, the Glory of the same being only due to him. So that now leaving this Place, we proceed to other parts of the Country, where with the like Butchery were only five executed, amongst whom was one Mr. Tyler of *Bristol*, who had had Command in the Dukes Army, where he behaved himself very stoutly to the last; after the Army was dispersed, he among others was taken, received Sentence of Death at *Dorchester*, and here brought for the completion of the same, and from thence we hope was translated to Heaven: He spent his time between the Sentence and execution very devoutly, in confirming and strengthening those that were to be his Fellow-Sufferers. And made it his business to bring them to a willingness to submit to, and a preparedness for Death: The day being come, and he brought to the place of Execution, he thus spoke, *My Friends, You see I am now on the Brink of Eternity, and in a few Minutes shall be but Clay; You expect I should say something, as is usual in such Cases; as to the matter of Fact I die for, it doth not much trouble me, knowing to my self the ends for which I engaged with the Duke of M. were both good and honourable.* Here being stop'd, and not suffer'd to proceed further, he then comforted his

his Fellow-sufferers, desiring them to joyn with him in singing an Hymn, which he himself composed for the occasion as followeth.

## 1.

*O Lord, how Glorious is thy Grace,  
And wondrous large thy Love ;  
At such a dreadful time and place,  
To such as Faithful prove !*

## 2.

*If thou wilt have thy Glory hence,  
Though a shameful Death we die,  
We bless thee for this Providence,  
To all Eternity.*

## 3.

*Let these Spectators see thy Grace  
In thy poor Servants shine ;  
While we by Faith behold thy Face,  
In that bless'd Son of thine.*

## 4.

*Though Men our Bodies may abuse,  
Christ took our Souls to rest ;  
Till he brings forth the joyful news,  
Ye are my Fathers blest.*

## 5.

*Appear for those that plead thy Cause,  
Preserve them in the way,  
Who own King Jesus, and his Laws,  
And dare not but obey.*

## 6.

*O God confound our cruel Foes,  
Let Babylon come down ;*



Let England's King be one of them,  
Shall raze her to the ground.

7.

Through Christ we yield our Souls to thee,  
Accept us on his Score ;  
That where he is, there we may be,  
To praise thee ever more.

After the Hymn sung he prayed devoutly, for half an hour ; after Prayer he gave great satisfaction to all present of his Assurance of Heaven, had many weeping Eyes for him, and was much lamented in the Town, tho' a stranger to the place ; so unbuttoning himself, said to the Executioner, *I fear not what Man can do unto me ; I pray thee do thy work in mercy, for I forgive thee with all my heart, and I also pray to God to forgive thee ; don't mangle my Body too much ;* and so lifting up his hands to Heaven, the Executioner did his Office. There was also one *William Cox* that died with him, who also died very courageously, despising the shame, in hopes and expectation of a future better Estate. He and his two Sons were some of the first that came to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and all taken, and all condemned to together : The Father only suffered, the Sons by Providence were preserved. When he was going to Execution he desired leave to see his Sons, then in another Prison in the Town, to whom he gave his Blessing ; and though he was going to be Executed, yet had that satisfaction to hope that God would preserve them, which was so.

*Some further Passages relating to Mr. Sampson  
Larke with his Prayer at the same time and  
place when Executed.*

**I**Mmediately after Colonel *Holmes* was Executed, this good Man was ordered to prepare to follow ; accordingly going to deliver some few words to the People, some whereof were formerly of his Congregation, but being told he could not expect much time, because it was so late, and so many to be Executed after him ; so he suddenly concluded, and said, *I will now speak a few Words to him, which I am sure will hear me.* And so began his Prayer as followeth :

*Blessed Lord God , we thine unworthy Creatures now here before thee, cannot but acknowledge from the bottom of our hearts our own unworthiness ; we must confess we have been grievous Sinners, and have brought forth the evil Fruit of it in our Lives , to the great dishonour of thy Name, for which we have deserved thy heavy wrath and indignation to be poured forth upon us, not only in this life, but in that which is to come.*

*O let us bless God for our Sufferings and Afflictions ; as for our Mercies, we bless thee in particular for this ; O sanctifie it to us ; let us be effectually convinced of the vanity of the World, and of our own sinfulness by Nature and Practice, and to see that to be sin which we never saw before ; O Lord, make us sensible of the absolute necessity of the Righteousness of Christ to justify us, and let him be now made much more dear and precious to our Souls than ever , that so we may be wrought*

wrought into a more heavenly Frame, and raised to a higher degree of Spirituality, and so made more meek and humble; and let us judge charitably of others, that differ from us in Opinion and Judgment. And now, O Lord, though by thy most righteous Judgment we most justly deserve these Sufferings, and such an ignominious Death, for our Sins against thee, not for Treasons against the Kingdom, let us be in a preparedness for it. Pardon all our Sins, help us quietly to submit to thy holy Will; speak peace to all our Souls. Look in mercy, O Lord, on this poor Nation, especially on this Town, and every particular Person in it, let them all mind those things which concern their peace, before they are hid from their eyes. Comfort my dear and distressed Wife, be a Husband unto her, deliver her out of the Paw of the Lyon, and the Paws of the Bear. Look upon all thy poor afflicted ones, all Prisoners and Captives, work deliverance for them if thou seest it good; but thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. And now Lord, with humble meekness and submission I submit to thy Will; depending upon the Merits of my Saviour, to whom with thy blessed Self and Spirit be ascribed all Honour and Praise both now and for ever. Amen.

Then mounting the Ladder, he called to some of the Town who weeped for him, but were at some distance, Go home to your own Houses, pray do not weep for me, and before you get up yonder Hill, I shall be with my heavenly Father in fulness of joy and pleasure for evermore. And so advising those before him to leave off those cruel Sentiments they had taken of him, besides some heavenly Discourses with some of his Friends, was turned off, to the great grief of the good People of the Town,

especially those of his own Congregation. To give him nothing but his due, he was a man mighty charitable, relieving and visiting the poor and needy, Preached in season and out of season, and made it his business to go about doing good, and to put poor Souls in a way for Eternal Life; he was an old Christian, as well as aged in years; he was a general loss, especially to his dear and tender Wife: But all our losses are nothing to be compared to that Glory that he now enjoys.

*Mr. Sampson Larke's Letter to a Friend just before his Execution.*

**M**I dear Friend, I am ready to be offered, and the time of my Departure is at hand; I have through Grace fought a good fight, have finished my course, have kept the Faith, and am in hopes of the Crown of Righteousness prepared for me, and all God's faithful Ones: The experiences I have had of the Promises, hath given me comfortable hopes that he will carry me to the full end of my Journey, with his Name, and that Truth of his, which I have made Profession of. My great Crime is for my being a Preacher of the Gospel, and here I am to be made a Sacrifice, where I have mostly preached Christ's Gospel. I think my Judges have devised this punishment for my hurt, but I trust God will turn it to my good; the great trouble I have, is for those good Means that I must leave behind me: But this is my comfort, knowing that all such as fear God, he will be a Father to them. My dear Wife is greatly troubled, but through Mercy much supported, and something quieted; if any  
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of you have opportunity to give her help, I hope you will do it. As for our confessing our selves Guilty, it was expressly as to Matter of Fact, and not of Form, and this I did with some freedom, and the rather, because all my worthy Brethren that went before me took that way, and the many ways having been used to have a further Discovery, yet nothing of that kind by any but only by Captain Jones. Since our Sentence, some wretched men have been with us to draw from us a Confession of our being Rebels, that we might have their Absolution. I bless God, he has hitherto helped me to be faithful, and I hope he will not leave me in the most needful time. I must conclude, being ready to be called away; my dear Love to all my Christian Friends, and especially those in the Goal. The Lord be with you all, Amen. Your dying Friend, in hopes of Eternal Life, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

From the House of my  
blessed Bondage in Dor-  
chester, Sept. 7. 1685.

Sampson Larke:

*An Account of those Executed at Sherborn.*

**A**T Sherborn, in the same County, were Executed Twelve, who all died Courageously, especially one Mr. Gliffon of Teovel, in the County of Somerset, his extraordinary deportment and carriage at the place of Execution, was so very considerable, as gave great satisfaction to his Friends, and amazement to his Enemies. He declared to the World that he died a true Protestant, and had



not ingaged with the Duke of *Monmouth*, but judged it high time to stand up for the Defence of the same, though God Almighty had thought fit to frustrate his designs, and to bring him to that place to Seal the same with his Blood. Also *John Savage* and *Richard Hall* of *Culliton*, in the County of *Devon*, suffered at the same time and place in their particular Conversation; they valued those most that they saw most of Piety in, and pitied others that they saw not so well prepared; saying that the remembrance of our vanity may cause compassion towards such as were in such a Condition; exhorting all to be serious, and to consider their latter end, which deserved the greatest attention of Mind; the way to die comfortably being to prepare for it seriously; and if God should miraculously preserve us from this Death now before our eyes, it should be the duty of us all to spend the remaining part of our time, in such a manner as now, when we see Death just at the door. At the hour of Execution their cheerfulness and comfort was much increased, saying, *Now the Will of God will be done, and he hath most certainly chosen that for us which is best*; with many other such like Christian Expressions, too tedious here to be inserted, because we design to keep to our first Intentions, and not to swell this Treatise too big. Upon the whole, after they had with much earnestness recommended their Souls to the All-wise God by Prayer, they all with much content and satisfaction, submitted themselves to the Executioner, not doubting of a happy Translation, and accordingly were executed and quartered; before the rest of the Executions in this County,

as at *Weymouth, Pool, Shafton, Wimborne, &c.* not being there, we shall pass over, and only give you particular touches, which we saw to our perfect knowledge, and so we return to *Culliton* in the County of *Devon*, where *John Sprague* and *William Clegg*, both of that Town, were condemned at *Exon*, and there brought to be Executed. Before they were brought into the place, a Messenger came from the Prisoners with a Request to the Vicar of the Parish, to desire his company and assistance in this their Extremity, and to Administer those Spiritual helps that were suitable to men in their Circumstances. Accordingly the said Minister came very readily, and did demand of them *What they had to desire of him?* The dying Persons answered, *They desired his Prayers.* Accordingly he prayed with them a considerable space of time. And after which he asked of them several Questions, for to give him and the World satisfaction of the prepared Condition they were in, in order to their lanching into Eternity, especially about the Doctrine of *Non-resistance.* *John Sprague* very soberly and moderately replied, but whether satisfactory or not, we leave to the Reader; *He believed that no Christian ought to resist a lawful Power; but the Case being between Popery and Protestantism, altered the matter; and the latter being in danger, he believed that it was lawful for him to do what he did, though God in his Providence had thought fit to bring him to this place of Execution.* After reading a Chapter out of the *Corinthians*, and singing a Psalm suitable to the occasion, he very vehemently and fervently recommended his Soul to the All-wise God by Prayer, for near half an hour, to

the great satisfaction of all that heard him ; then his Wife and Childring coming to him weeping bitterly, he imbraced them in his Arms, saying, *Weep not for me, but weep for your selves, and for your sins, for that he had that quiet satisfaction, that he was only going to be translated into a state of Bliss and Happiness, where we should sin and sorrow no more, but that all Tears should be wiped away, wishing them to be diligent in the Service of God.* Then recommending his Wife and Children to the protection of the Almighty God, who had promised to be a Husband to the Widow, and a Father to the Fatherless, who was faithful and able to make up their loss in him, in that which should be better for them, than he could be ; desiring God to be a Refuge for them to fly to for security, and preservation from the Troubles that seemed to threaten this poor Nation; the which if they did conscientiously perform, though Death here made a separation, he doubted not of meeting them in Heaven at last. And so the Executioner did his Office. During which time his Brother-sufferer, *William Clegg* was all the time on his Knees, praying to himself with a seeming Zeal ; suddainly after which his turn being come to follow his Brother, he only told the People, *That his Fellow-sufferer had spoken what he thought was necessary, and they were also his Sentiments.* And so submitted to Execution.

*An Account of those Executed at Axminster  
and Honiton.*

**A**T Axminster one also was Executed, his Name Mr. Rose, he was a Gunner, that landed with the Duke of Monmouth, he had a great Resolution, and not at all started with the fear of Death. He said, *That he defy'd death, and all them that were the occasion of it.* He was very couragious and died so. He spent some time in private Prayer, and was not allowed time, because there was to be Execution at Honiton; so that his Execution being over, we past on to Honiton, where four were executed, one of which was a Chyrurgeon, his Name, if I do not mistake, was Mr. Pett, who behaved himself with that extraordinary Christian Courage, that all the Spectators were almost astonished, he being but young, about Twenty, his Prayers being fervent, his Expressions so pithy, and so becoming a Christian of greater Age, that drew pity and compassion from all present; a rude Fellow, just before he was to be executed, called for a Bottle of Wine, and so began the Kings Health to one of the Guard; which he perceiving, Poor Soul, said he, *Your Cup seemeth to be sweet to you, and you think mine is bitter; which indeed is so to Flesh and Blood; but yet I have that assurance of the fruition of a future Estate, that I doubt not but this bitter Portion will be sweetned with the Sugar of the loving kindness of my dearest Saviour, that I shall be translated into such a State, where is fulness of Joy and Pleasure for evermore.*

Before I conclude, one Mr. *Evans* a Minister ought not to be omitted, who did all along in the time of his confinement in Prison, behave himself with that Devotion and Strictness, that became a Christian of great eminency, as indeed he was; he spent much of his time in preaching and praying to his Fellow Prisoners, exhorting them to hold out to the end; he at last by appointment being Condemn'd, was executed by himself; at which time and place he behaved himself with great Courage and Devotion, and with a great willingness and chearfulness, he submitted to Execution. There might have been much more said of this worthy man, but because we will keep to our design, shall be omitted. Many others, which were also very eminent that suffered in this County, for asserting and endeavouring to secure the *Protestant Religion*, might deservedly have a share in this small *Treatise*; but having resolved this for brevity, according as it meeteth with reception, so it may give encouragement for Addition, else must stand as now it is.

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### *The Case of Mr. Simong Hamling.*

**T**HUS having finished what we have to say at present, shall only add the Case of one Mr. *Simon Hamling* at *Taunton*, to shew that sometimes Innocency will not protect. Mr. *Hamling* was formerly an Inhabitant of the place, but of late years had lived two or three miles from thence; he was a very honest, worthy, good *Christian*, but



was a *Dissenter*, and indeed in the Judgment of some fiery men, that might be Crime enough, as did too sadly appear in divers Cases. But to our purpose: Mr. *Hamling* living in the Country, hearing of the Duke of *Monmouth* being in Town, he there came to speak with his Son, who lived in that place; where being come, he gave him advice, which was, *That as he expected his Blessing and Countenance, he should not at all concern himself in the matter, but submit to the Will of God in all things.* And having thus advised his Son, he returns home; and two days after came again to Town on a Market-day with his Wife, to buy Provisions for his Family, and returned to his House again. And this was all the times he was in Town, whiles the Duke was there. But after the Business was over, he was brought in on Suspicion, being a *Dissenter*, that was Crime enough, except Coin appear'd to a *Justice* of that Town, who usually did commit or dismiss as that appear'd. This Man was arraign'd at *Taunton*, Plead'd *Not Guilty*. The Matter above is the truth of this Case; the *Evidences* were two profligate Rascals, that had Incouragement from the *Justice*, they usually doing what he put them on. The Prisoner had many to prove this Fact, and his Honesty; but this did not avail; the Jury found him Guilty, with two more, who were presently Sentenc'd, and next morning executed for to be *Examples* to others. It is said that the *Justice* did make application to our famous *Protestant Judge*, and hinted some Mistake concerning him. To which, as I have been informed, he should Reply, *You have brought him on, if he be innocent, his Blood be upon you.*

*you* Which was a very fine Reply from a merciful Judge; but nothing else could be expected, as the whole Treatise evinceth. The tender *Mercies* of the wicked being cruel. This Man behaved himself very worthily at the place of Execution, and did at the last declare his Crime to be the same as is above mentioned, and not otherwise. Thus fell this pious Christian; a Man, by all sober People that knew him, beloved; and disrespected by none but loose Villains, which at last took away his Life.

There was one Mr. *Gatchett* executed with him, his Crime being a Constable of the Hundred, he was surprized by a Party of the Dukes, and shewed a Warrant to bring in Provisions and other Necessaries for the use of the Army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatned to have his House burnt, &c. so that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preservation; but this was not sufficient, for being found Guilty, was also executed at the same time and place.

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### *The Case of Mr. Thomas Lawrence.*

**M**R. *Thomas Lawrence* at *Dorchester*, had also very hard measure. He had the managing of an *Estate* belonging to a *Person of Quality*, who had a Barn in the *Parish of Lyme*, where the Duke landed. The day after his landing, a Party came and took away three Horses from off this *Estate*, which he having the trust and care of, makes application to the Duke for them, adding, *That he ought not to suffer any of his Masters Goods to be wanting,*

wanting, but must endeavour to recover them again. So mov'd hard to the Duke for the Horses, but all would not prevail; but at last had one, and was forced to leave two. This was look'd on as an abetting, being judg'd to be by consent. After the Defeat was given, he was had before a *Justice of the Peace*, who bound him over to the *Assizes*, where appearing, he was Committed; Pleaded *Not Guilty* on his Trial, which he pleaded to very honestly; yet was found Guilty, and sentenc'd to dye. My Lord was excellent at Improvement, 'twas thought he would, if possible, have brought in the Gentleman that owned the *Estate*, who was very rich. This honest Mr. *Lawrence* was to be sacrific'd, and his *Execution* order'd to be at *Warham*; but my Lord's Favourite got a *Reprieve* for him by the help of Four hundred pound. Two hundred pound being actually paid, the other secur'd by Bond.

I promised before I conclude, to give some account of the barbarous and cruel Whippings which were executed on many good, honest, and sufficient *Persons*, both Men and Women, in the Counties of *Dorset*, *Devon*, and *Somerset*, by the severe and cruel Sentence of the *Lord Chief Justice*; some for such small Crimes, as an impartial man may judge they deserved none at all: more especially one Mr. *Stayle* of *Thorncomb* in *Devonshire*, his sufferings were so hard, that it caus'd many to pity him; he was a good liver, well beloved among his Neighbours, and a true *Protestant*. Also one Mrs. *Brown* of *Lyme*, suffer'd very dear in that nature; she only jokingly said unto the Officer of the *Excise*, *I will pay my Excise to King Monmouth*; which

which being sworn before this severe Judge, she was found Guilty of a Misdemeanor, was sentenc'd to be whipt in several *Market Towns*, which accordingly was done. But this Cruelty was not only extended to those of riper years, and able better to endure those painful Sufferings, but even to Children. A poor Boy of *Weymouth* in the County of *Dorset*, having got some *Pamphlet* relating somewhat to satisfie the *People* that the Duke of *Monmouth* came to secure the *Protestant Religion*, had the hard fortune to take his Trial before this harsh Judge; I think he was about ten or twelve years of Age; had the flesh of his Back so cut with the whipping, that I heard he died with the same; but whether he is dead, or not, never was such Cruelty in all this World. And now we may see how just the Lord is, he that all that time had no mercy for any, but those that appeared loose Villains, is pitied but by fevv.

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*Capt. Madders last Prayer at the same time and place.*

**C**apt. *Madders* at the time of the Duke's landing vvas a Constable at *Crewkern*, in the County of *Somerset*, and so diligent and active for the King in his Office, that vvhen tvvo Gentlemen of *Lyme* came there, and brought the Nevvs of the Duke's landing, and desired Horses to ride Post to acquaint his Majesty therewith, he immediately secured Horses for them, the Tovvn being generally othervvays bent, and assisted them so far

far as any called Loyal in those times could do, which was represented to the Lord Chief Justice, in expectation thereby to save his Life. But an Enquiry being made about his Religion, and returned by a very worthy Gentleman of those Parts, That he was a good Protestant, an honest Man, had a very good Character amongst his Neighbours. *O then, says he, I'll hold a wager with you he is a Presbyterian, I can smell them forty miles.* Though moderately I now say, they can smell him two hundred miles *West*; then surely he must dye, because he was, and had the Character of an honest Man, a good Christian, and a brave Tradesman. But to be short, I could say a great deal more of him, being intimately acquainted with him, and was with him to the very last. Being brought to the Place of Execution, he was the last Man except one executed, and he behaved himself, whilst the rest were executing, with great Zeal; and lifting up his hands and eyes, would often say, *Lord, make me so willing and ready to the last.* And God did hear his Prayers; for though he seemed to the Spectators to be somewhat unwilling to dye, yet at the last he dyed with as much Assurance and Christian Resolution as any; for after his publick Prayer, he came once down the Ladder, and prayed again privately, then mounted the Ladder again; the Sheriff saying, *Mr. Madders, if you please you may have more liberty*; he answered, *No, I thank you Mr. Sheriff, now I am ready, I am willing, and desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.* Oh! you cannot imagine what Comfort and Refreshment I have received in a few minutes; my Comforts are so great that I cannot contain my self. So blessing



sing and praising of God, he was translated, as I hope (we have no ground to imagine the contrary) from Earth to Heaven) repeating *Rev. 20. 6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection, on such the second Death hath no power.* His publick Prayer was as followeth.

**O** Eternal and ever blessed Lord God, look down upon me a miserable Sinner with an eye of pity and compassion, in and through my dear Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ. O Lord, I acknowledge my self a great and grievous Sinner; I have sinned against the clearest light and the dearest love; I have deserved to have been spurned from thy Presence, and from the glory of thy Power, and that thou shouldst now say unto me, I will have no more to do with such an unworthy Wretch, such a polluted filthy Creature as thou art, and hast been: But, O Lord, there is mercy with thee that thou mayest be feared; and thou hast promised, that if a Sinner turn from his wickedness, thou wilt have mercy on him; and tho' his sins were as scarlet, thou wouldst make them white as wooll: Fulfil, O Lord, thy gracious promise unto me, a poor suppliant, in this my last hour of my life; purge and cleanse me from all sin and filthiness, give me true Repentance; and if there lyes any sin not yet repented of, O Lord bring it to my Conscience, Mind and Memory: But I hope, O Lord, thou hast heard my prayers, my sighs and groans; I hope and trust thou hast pardoned all my sins, and wilt immediately receive my soul. Look down in Mercy on my dear Wife and Family, be thou a Comfort, and all in all unto them. Now Lord, I am coming to thee, assist me to the last moment; Comfort my distressed Soul; do more for me than I am able to ask for, or think of; but what thou knowest

knowest to be needful and necessary for me, in and through the Merits of my dear Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with thee and thy blessed Spirit of Grace be ascribed the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever, Amen.

The Dying Words of Captain Kidd, Executed at the same time and place.

THIS Gentleman was the last executed at that time; as soon as Captain Madders was turned off, he began to prepare to follow, and called to his Guards and those present, Do you see this, (pointing up to Eleven that were dead before him) do you think this is not dreadful to me, that eleven of twelve of us, that but a few hours since came down together; are dead and in Eternity? and I am just going to follow them, and shall immediately be in the same condition. Says one to him, It must be dreadful to Flesh and Blood. Says he, Well Gentlemen, I will assure you, I am so far concerned, that methinks I bethink their Happiness, that they should be so long before me in bliss and happiness; but I'll make haste to follow; I am satisfied this is the best day that ever I saw: The day of a Mans Death is said to be better than the day of his Birth: and truly so I find it as to my Flesh, for I shall be presently free from sin and sorrow; I am satisfied God hath done his best for me: I might have lived and have forgotten God, but now I am going where I shall sin no more: 'Tis a blessed thing to be free from sin, and to be with Christ: O how great were the sufferings of Christ for us, beyond all that

that I can undergo! how great is that Glory to which I am going! Then taking his leave of the People then present, he prayed some small time very devoutly, and with seeming great Joy and Comfort, the Executioner did his Office.

*The Last Speech of Dr. Temple of Nottingham, at the place of Execution.*

**D**OCTOR Temple was one of them that Landed with the Duke, and was his Chief Physician and Chyrurgeon; he lived in Nottingham, but minding to see other parts of the World, (as I have heard) goes for *Holland*, where he came acquainted with the Duke of *Monmouth*, concerning which he thus spake, just as he was going off the Ladder :

Christian Friends, and dear Countrymen,  
**I** Have somewhat to say, and not very much, before I depart from you, and shall be seen no more. And, First, As to my Engagement with the Duke of Monmouth.

Secondly, How far I was concerned: And,

Thirdly, I shall leave all of you to be Judges in matter of Fact: And so for the

First, As a Dying Man I now declare, that when I entred myself with the Duke of Monmouth, to be his Chyrurgeon, it was on no other account but to serve him in the *VWest-Indies*; where I knew no other design whatsoever, but to possess himself of some of those Islands, until I had been at Sea two days, wherein

wherein one privately told me, We were absolutely bound for England, and I should take it from him it was true: It much surprized me, but knowing no way to avoid it; or to get on shore, though it was at that time contrary to my Inclinations, if I could have avoided it; I would not let others see that I had that dissatisfaction within me. After our Landing at Lyme, I knew it was never the near to attempt my escape, the Country being so beset; on the other hand, if the Duke of Monmouth did win the day, I might have raised my Fortunes as high as I could expect: These were the Arguments that Flesh and Blood did create in my Breast for self-preservation. While I was with the said Duke, I did him as much Service as I could, and faithfully: After it pleased God to disperse that Army under his Command, I endeavour'd to secure my self, but by Providence was taken at Honyton, from whence committed to Exon, and after removed to Dorchester, where I received my Sentence, and am now as you see, just going to Execution: the Lord prevent all of you from such ignominious Deaths; and I advise you all, that you never take any great thing in hand, but what you have a Warrant for from the Lord: I assure you I had no satisfaction in this; but this I am sure, that if I have done any thing amiss in it, it is pardoned: I bless God I have that satisfaction, I die a Professor of the Church of England. I desire Pardon of all those I have any ways wronged or abused, as I freely forgive all those that have wronged or abused me; I am in Charity with all men. Lord have mercy upon me, give me strength to go through these pains, and give me full assurance now at this last moment: Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

Also one *Samuel Robbins* of *Charmouth* in the County of *Dorset*, that was Executed, or rather murdered, at *Warham*, in the said County : I cannot pass him by in silence, his Case being so extraordinary hard, that to speak moderately betwixt the King and his Case, I do say this, that I verily believe never man suffered innocenter ; as I hope you will be satisfied in, after you have heard his Crime, and on what small grounds he was Guilty, or so supposed by my Lord Chief Justice.

He used generally in the Summer to use the Craft of Fishing, to get a competent maintenance for his Family, and happened to be out at Sea a Fishing before *Lyme*, that day the Duke came in to Land, and was commanded on board one of the Duke's Ships, he not knowing who they were, and they bought his Fish of him ; after which they told him that was the Duke of *Monmouth*, pointing at him, and that he was just going to Land : He desired to go on shore, which was refused, and told, that as soon as the Duke was landed he should have his Liberty ; so accordingly he came on shore, and was never after with him, or ever took up Arms under him : I leave the Reader to judge whether this was High Treason or no. This was all he was guilty of, except that he was a good honest Man, a zealous Christian, a man of a very good Life and Conversation, as I think his Neighbours will attest it, in most Towns and Parishes where he lived : But alas he had a good Book in his House when taken, called, *The solemn League and Covenant* : This was the High Treason he must be guilty of, which was aggravated to the Lord Chief Justice, by one or two hot Spirits his Neigh-



Neighbours. But to be short, he received his Sentence of Death with great Courage, and not at all dismayed, saying very often in Prison before, *If it pleased God to call him now (to glorifie his Name by this Providence of his) to Death, he should be ready; but (said he) I am as innocent of any thing I have done against any man that may deserve this punishment, as the Child now unborn.* When he came to the place of Execution, he very chearfully declared his Innocency to the Spectators, as before, and so praying very devoutly for some time, he was executed: His Prayer I have no exact Copy of.

Also one Mr. *Charles Speake* of London, a Gentleman of good Extraction, being Son to the VVorshipful *George Speake Esq;* near *Ilminster* in the County of *Somerset*, where he was Executed: His Case also was extraordinary hard; but there may be two great Reasons given why he was executed: The first was, Because he came from that good Pious Family, which always have been Opposers to Popery, and suffered deeply for their Courage that way. Secondly, The said Mr. *Charles Speake* had purchased some great place in the *Kings-Bench*, or *Common-Pleas*, which was very profitable to him; so that by his Fall there being a Forfeiture, much money may be made of it; all intercession would not avail with the *L. C. J.* for his Life. He happened to be at *Ilminster* at the time of the time of the Dukes being there, which was the greatest Crime he was guilty of; the Validity of his Evidence I leave to those in the *West*, which know how far it was carried that way. He was a fine Courteous loving Gentleman; and notwithstanding

standing his Youth, he acted the part of an old Christian Soldier at his Death, preparing himself to undergo those pains, saying very often, *They were nothing to his Deserts from God Almighty; but as for what I am accused of, and Sentenc'd for, I hope you will believe I am not so guilty, as my Judge and Accusers have endeavour'd to make me : If it had pleased God, I should have been willing to have lived some time longer, but God's time being come, I am willing, I will be contented to drink this bitter Cup off.* Being at the place of Execution, the croud was so great, that I suppose he was shorter than otherwise he would have been; but alas! how could it be? for on every side of him, as well as up and down the Town, the Inhabitants were weeping and bewailing him: *Oh 'tis the worst day that ever we saw in this Town! Must this good Gentleman die here? Oh! yet save his Life, I am ready to die for him, and the like.* He prayed very heartily for near an hour, and sung a Psalm, and so we hope was translated to Heaven, there to sing everlasting Praises and Hallelujahs. His Father and Mother you may easily judge were not a little concerned about him; but their Adversaries malice ended not here, but Father and Mother must be brought in, and how many thousands of Pounds it cost them, I think is too well known in London; and most Parts of the Kingdom have heard in the Publick Letters their names mentioned. Some may think they were concerned with the Duke, but I never heard there was so much made appear against them, as could have made them been brought in guilty of High Misdemeanours: had not the Good Gentleman and his Lady been vertuous People, abhorring the De-

Debaucheries of the times, and of such a competent Estate, able to spare ten or twelve thousand pounds; the hard usage this honest brave Gentleman and his vetuous Lady had, and their sufferings, to relate them, would be too large; and besides, it is so well known in most places in the *West*, that I shall, without saying any more, proceed.

And next for Mr. *Parret*, who was executed at *Taunton*; if I mistake not, he said he was a *Londoner*, and a Brewer. When he came to the place of Execution, he seemed a Man almost unconcerned at Death. After some time, he began to deliver himself somewhat low in voice to the People, and after rising by degrees, he seemed more like a Minister in a Pulpit preaching devoutly, than a Prisoner just going to Execution; but I being then not well, could not tarry to see his End. But the Character I had, was, *That he desired all not to be faint-hearted because of their fall, and to think that there was no hopes remaining.* He said, *He verily believed God would yet work out deliverence for them, and at the time they were in the greatest Extremity, that would be God's Opportunity. Put your whole trust and confidence, and dependance on the Lord, and he will never leave you nor forsake you: and much more; but having no more exact Copy, I shall not enlarge, but come to some other.*

*The last Speech of Henry Boddy Executed at Bath.*

**W**Hile he was in Prison, especially after Sentence, he behaved himself mighty humble, meek, and was much in Meditation, which was observed by several Divines, especially one who attended him to his Last, his name Mr. *Simpson*. His poor Wife coming to see him at *Wells*, and to make her Interest with some Friends, if possible to save his Life; but finding it lost labour, and that she could by no means prevail, she died there for grief, before her Husband was Executed, to his great grief. When he came to the place of Execution, he delivered himself to the People in these Words:

*Good People, I am come here to pay a Debt due to Nature, which every one, one time or another, must pay, though not in this manner, or nature. I am condemned as a Traytor and Rebel against my King, which were things I always hated and abhorred; and therefore give me so much time as to deliver myself to you; and what I say, I hope you will believe me at this time, being just going to give an account, not only for every idle word, but for all things I have done since I have had a being.*

*I was born in Lyme-Regis in the County of Dorset, and bred up a Seaman from my Infancy; I have had the Honour to serve his Majesty King Charles the Second, in his Wars with the Dutch and French, divers times. I always thought it to be the Duty of every true English man to stand up in his Countries quarrel*

quarrel with Foreigners, to maintain our ancient Priviledges and Honour of our Nation. I served him faithfully: and as for any undertaking now with the late Duke of Monmouth, for which I am now come to suffer death; As for my Designs, I am sure they were good, for I did believe him to be my Sovereign's Son and Heir; but if otherwise, I have done amiss, and am sorry, and hope the Lord hath pardoned it. While I was in Arms, I am sure there's none can say I have personally wronged them. I desire all your Prayers for me to the last. I am no Orator, therefore if you please (speaking to the Minister) do those last Spiritual Services for me, as for to pray with me, and for me. The Minister being much taken with him, desired leave of the Sheriff to ask him some Questions, which being granted; the Minister said unto him, I must make bold with you, but not to hold you too long before I pray, but to satisfy my self and the People on what ground you stand; I mean, as concerning your everlasting state. Now pray resolve me a few things: First, Whether you do own that Doctrine of Non-resistance, own'd by the Church, That it is not lawful on any account whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King? O Sir! as to that I answer, Could I have been satisfied he had been my lawful Prince, I should not have done it. But, said the Minister, he is, and you are not to be judge; except you own those things, some People will hardly have Charity for you after you are dead. What matters that? said he, would you have me, now you put me so close to it, to lye? No, I will not. I say, If he was my lawful King, I was misled in my Judgment, and have committed a great Error; but Lord, I hope thou hast washed a way all my sins, in and through



the Blood of my dear Redeemer, in whose alone Merits I hope for Mercy. I desire to be ask'd no more Questions. Then the Minister prayed very devoutly near half an hour ; after which , lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven, quietly submitted to Death.

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Mr. *John Hicks's* last Speech , 1685.

**I** Suppose the Spectators here present may expect I should speak something before I leave this sanguinary Stage and Passage through my bloody Sufferings, by which my immortal Spirit will be speedily transported into an invisible and eternal World, and I conclude that they have different Resentments hereof. Some resent them with much joy, high exultation and triumph , others with equal grief and sorrow ; that to the one I am a most pleasant Spectacle, that they behold me with high complacency and delight ; but to the other I am a mournful and unpleasant one, and they behold me with no less pity and compassion. Concerning the first, I can say, I freely and heartily forgive them, and heartily pray that God would most mercifully and graciously prevent their mourning through Misery, not only here, but eternally hereafter. Concerning the other, I will say, Weep for your own sins , and for the sins of the Nation, for the highest Rebel-lions that ever were committed against the great and eternal God ; lament bitterly for those sins that have been the meritorious Cause of the late  
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terrible Judgment, that which I fear will cause God to break in upon this Nation with an overflowing Deluge of Judgments, which are far more tremendous and dreadful. As for sympathizing with me, in drinking this bitter Cup appointed for me, I return you most humble and hearty thanks, earnestly desiring God to come unto you, and fill your Souls with all Celestial Comforts and Spiritual Consolations. Something I must say to purge and clear my self from a false Accusation laid to my Charge; as that I was engaged with Col. *Blood* in rescuing Col. *Mason* near *Boston*, when he was sent down with a Guard from *London* to *Tork*, to be Tried for High Treason; and that I was the Man that killed the Barber of that City; and that also I was with him when he stole the Crown. Now as I am a dying Man, and upon the very brink of a very stupendious Eternity, (the truth and reality whereof I firmly believe) without any reservation or the least equivocation, I do declare in the Presence of the All-seeing God, that impartial Judge, before whom in a very little time I must appear, I never saw nor conversed with Mr. *Tho. Blood*, from 1656. till after he stole the Crown, which was in 71, or 72. nor was ever engaged with him in any of his Treasonable Plots or Practices. 'Tis true, I being involved in great trouble of another Nature, (of which I have given to the World a Narrative, and which is notoriously known in the Country vvhhere I then lived, by some that vv ere Enemies to me for my preaching) I vv as persvaded to apply my self to Mr. *Blood*, to procure by his Intercession his late Majesties gracious Favour: accordingly he brought  
me

me into his Royal Presence ; vvhile I vvas there, his Majesty carried it vvith great Clemency, vvithout expreffing one vvord of that vvchich I am novv charged vvith. Mr. *Blood* continued vvith his Majesty a little longer than I did ; then he told me that he had granted me a Pardon, vvchich I did thankfully accept of, knowving it vvould free me from all Penalties and Troubles that I vvas obnoxious to, and vvhere occasioned to me by my Non-conformity. Then engaging him to take out my Pardon ; he told me, *That he got it out vvith feveral others that had been engaged vvith him in feveral Treasonable Designs and Actions ;* at vvchich I was troubled, fuppofing it might be imputed to me thereby ; yet, God knows, I have often fince reflected upon it vvith great regret and difatisfaction. If Mr. *Blood* did inform the late King to make himfelf the more confiderable, and to bring as many of his Party as he could to accept of their Pardons, that he might be rendered utterly incapable of Plotting any further Mifchief againft his Government, or any other vvays that I was engaged vvith him in any of his Treasonable Attempts ; I now appeal to God, as a dying Man, concerning it, that he hath done me an irreparable vvrong. I alfo in the fvvame manner do declare, That I vvvas never ingaged vvith any Party in Plotting or Designing, or Contriving any Treason or Rebellion againft the late King ; and particularly, that I vvvas altogether unconcerned in, and unacquainted vvith that for vvchich my Lord *Ruffel* and others fuffer'd, and as much a ftranger to any againft the prefent King. And vvhereas it is reported of me, *That at Taunton I perfvvaded the*  
late

late Duke of Monmouth to assume the Title of King; I do once more solemnly declare, That I saw not the said Duke, nor had any Converse with him 'till he came to *Shipton-Mallet*, which was thirteen days after he landed, and several days after he had been at *Taunton*. And 'tis as false, that I rid too and fro in the West to stir up and perswade Men to go into his Army, and rebel against his present Majesty; for I was in the East Country when the Duke landed, and from thence I went directly to him, when he was at *Shipton-Mallet*, not one Man accompanying me from thence. But I therto as I lived, so now I dye, owning and professing the true Reformed Christian (commonly called the *Protestant*) Religion, which is founded on the pure written Word of God only, and which I acknowledge likewise to be comprehended in the Articles of the Doctrine of the Church. This Religion I have made a reasonable and free choice of, and have heartily embraced, not only as it protests against all Pagan and Mahometan Religion, but against the Corruption of the Christian; and I humbly and earnestly pray to God that by his Infinite Wisdom and Almighty Power, he will prevent not only the utter extirpation but diminution thereof, by the heighth and influence of what is contrary thereto; and for that end the Lord make the Professors of it to live up more to its Principles and Rules, and bring their Hearts and Conversations more under the Government and Power of the same. I dye also owning my Ministry, Non-conformity, for which I have suffer'd so much, and which doth now obstruct the King's Grace and Mercy to be manifested and extended to

to me : For as I chose it not constrainedly, so I appeal to God as a dying Man, not moved from fullness or humour, or factious temper, or erroneous Principles of Education, or from secular interests, or worldly advantages, but clearly from the Dictates of my own Conscience, and as I judged it to be the Cause of God, and to have more of Divine Truth in it than that which is contrary thereto ; so now I see no Cause to repent of it, nor to recede from it ; not questioning but God will own it at the last Judgment-day. If no more had been required after the late King's Restauration to qualifie Ministers for publick Preaching, than was after the first Restauration from the time of *Charles the First*, probably I might have satisfied my self therewith, and not scrupled Conformity thereto ; but the Terms and Conditions thereof by a particular Law made in 1662. being not only new, but so strict and severe that I could never have satisfaction in my own Conscience, after all Endeavours used for a Compliance therewith, and a Conformity thereto : To say nothing of the Covenant, which I never took, but the giving my Assent and Consent, have been too difficult and hard for me to comply with. And I very well remember, that about fourteen years ago, entring into a Discourse with Mr. *Patrick Heldore* an *Irishman*, who was contemporary with me in *Dublin*, concerning Conformity, which he much endeavour'd to perswade me to, I urg'd the severity of the forementioned Conditions against it, and after some Debates and Reasons with him, I told him I did believe they vvere contrived and designed on purpose to prevent our publick Preaching, and  
to



to keep us out of the Church: To which he ingenuously reply'd, *He judg'd it was so: For, said he, a Bishop in Ireland, (whose Name I have forgot) told me the very same.*

But though I could not wade through and conquer this Difficulty, yet I censure not those that did it; and I believe after all the hottest Disputes, and most vehement Debates, and violent Contests between Conformist and Non-conformist, there are of both Parties will be glorified in Heaven hereafter. According to the 29<sup>th</sup> Article of the Church of *England*, a visible Church is a Congregation of Faithful Men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, the Sacraments of the Lord duly administred, according to Christ's Ordinance, and all those things that of necessity are requisite and necessary to Salvation; so with such a Church have I held the most intimate Communion, and with such (did I live) could hold it: I would not therefore be so incorporated with any Church, as to exclude me from, and render me incapable of holding Communion with other Churches; I was never strongly bound up to any form of Ecclesiastical Government, but that under which a pure and undefiled Religion doth flourish, and that which contains and really practises Holiness, and advances the Kingdom of God in the World, that can I approve of, and willingly live under, were I to live.

I did approve of the ancient and present form of Civil Government, *English* Monarchy; I am fully satisfy'd with, and do also declare, that it is not warrantable for any Subject to take up Arms against, and resist their lawful Sovereigns and  
rightful

rightful Princes: and therefore had I not been convinced by several things that I have read and heard, to believe that the late Duke of *Monmouth* was the Legitimate Son of his Father *Charles* the Second, I had never gone into his Army, judging that without this I could not be freed from the guilt of Rebellion, which I always resolved to keep my self clear from: And tho his Father deny'd he was marry'd to his Mother, I thought it might be answered with this; That Kings and Princes, for State-reasons, often cannot be fathomed by their Subjects, affirming and denying things which otherwise they would not do, and make even their natural affections to truckle and stoop thereto. I exhort all to abhor all treasonable Plots, and pretences of all Rebellion, with the highest Detestation, and to take the plain Text of Sacred Scripture to walk by, in honouring and obeying, and living in subjection to rightful Kings, and not readily to receive, or suddenly to be impress'd with evil Reports and Defamations of them, also not rashly to be Propagators of the same.

I desire God to forgive all mine Enemies, and to give me an heart to forgive them, which are many, some mighty, and all most malicious: Particularly *Barter* of *Lisnel*, who betrayed me, and proved such a Traytor to *James D.* of *Monmouth* his old and intimate Friend. I am grievously afflicted that I should prove the occasion of the great sufferings of so many Persons and Families: But this hath fallen under the Just and wise ordering of Divine Providence, as *Dauids* going to *Abimelech*, when he proved the occasion of the  
Death

Death of all the Persons, Men, Women, and Children in the City : But who shall say unto God, *What dost thou?* The care of my most dear Wife and a great many Children, I cast upon God, who I hope will be better than the best of Husbands unto her, and the best of Fathers unto them : God knows how just and legal Right my Wife hath unto her Estate ; to him therefore I commit her, to defend her from the violence and oppression of men ; particularly from a most inhumane and unnatural Brother : But no wonder if he will lay violent hands upon his Sisters Estate, that hath so often laid them on his own Father. I die a deeply humbled, self-judging and self-condemning Sinner, loathing and abhorring my many and great Iniquities, and my self for them, earnestly desiring full Redemption from the bonds of Corruption, under which I have groaned so many years, longing for a most perfect Conformity to the most holy and glorious God, the only infinite pure Being ; thirsting for a perfect diffusion of his Grace through all the Powers and Faculties of my Soul, panting after perfect spiritual Life and Liberty, and a consummate Love to my dearest Jesus, who is an All-comprehensive Good, and to be satisfied with his Love for ever : A vigorous and vehement Zeal for the Protestant Religion, with a Belief I had of the *Dukes* Legitimacy, hath involved me in this ignominious Death ; yet blessed be God, that by sincere Repentance and true Faith in the Blood of Jesus, there is passage from it to a glorious eternal Life, and from these bitter Sorrows to the fulness of sweetest Joys that are in his Presence, and from these sharp bodily pains to those most pure pleasures,

tures that are at his Right hand for evermore: And blessed be God, that such a death as this cannot prevent and hinder Christ's changing of my vile Body, and fashioning it like his Glorious Body, in the general Resurrection day.

I am now going into that World, where many dark things shall be made perfectly manifest and clear, and many doubtful things fully resolved, and a plenary satisfaction given concerning them; all Disputes and Mistakes concerning Treason, Rebellion, and Schism, shall be at an end and cease for ever: many things that are innocent, lawful and laudable, which have foul marks and black Characters stamp't and fix'd upon 'em here, they shall be perfectly purified and fully cleansed from there; where at one view, more shall be known of them, than by all wrangling Debates, and eager Disputes, or by reading all Polemical Books concerning them here. I greatly deplore and bewail the greedy Appetite, and insatiable Thirst, that Professing Protestants have after the Blood of their Brethren, and the high pleasure they take in the effusion thereof. But what will not Men do, when they are either Judically blinded, or their secular worldly Interest insensibly insinuates and winds it self into their Religion, is so twisted and incorporated with it, that it animates and acts it, is the Life and Soul, the vital Form and Power, and made wholly subservient thereunto?

I bless God for all my Sufferings, and particularly for this last; for the benefit and fruit of it, by God's sanctifying of them to me, have been great; hereby I have been effectually convinced  
of

of the Vanity of the World, and my own sinfulness by nature and practice, and to see that to be sin which I never saw before; and to be more thoroughly humbled for what I know to be sin, not only of Commission, but of Omission also: Hereby I have been brought to a more thorough, deep, inward sense and feeling of the absolute necessity of the righteousness of Christ to justify me, and he hath been made much more dear and precious to my Soul, than ever he was before. Hereby my Soul hath been more refin'd from the Dross of sensuality, wrought into a more Heavenly Frame, raised up to a higher pitch of Spirituality; hereby I am made more meek and humble, and so judge more charitably of others that differ from me in Opinion and Judgment: so though by Gods most righteous Judgment I have been apprehended, and most justly and deservedly undergo this Suffering for my Sins, yet I hope they have wrought for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory, fitting and preparing me, making me a better qualified Subject for, and far more meet to be a Partaker of the same. By the Grace and Strength of God, I will not purchase my Life by the Death and Blood of my Protestant Brethren, but choose to die rather than be a Betrayer of them; the impetuous and violent assault of this, I dreaded more than Death it self. Blessed be God I was not exposed unto it, and conquered by it, as some have been: having such full bodily vigour and strength, being in such perfect Health, notwithstanding my Age, predominating in me, it hath made it more difficult to die, than if I had been clogged and incumbered with infirmities, made to



bow and stoop under them by prevailing Diseases and Distempers, gradually worn out therewith, which many times makes men weary of Life, and to desire to die ; and this in Conjunction with many things ( which I forbear to mention ) highly gratifying and pleasing to sense , which I must leave for ever, strengthens and heightens the Difficulty, and begets a greater Regret and Reluctancy in my Will, to have the Earthly Tabernacle of my Body dissolved, and my Soul to dislodge and quit the same. But now when the black and gloomy Shades of Death do overspread me, I can say to the Glory of Gods most Free and Powerful Grace, True Faith in some measure hath changed the difficulty into a Facility, and easiness of dying : It hath very much subdued the reluctancy of my Will against it ; for it makes Future things present, and invisible things visible, and doth realize and substantiate the same to me ; and as by it I penetrate and pierce into Eternity, and behold invisible and immortal things, so hereby, blessed be God, I have obtained a greater Victory over Sense : The World is crucified to me, and I to the VWorld, and all the most pleasant and delightful Objects therein, all finite, fading Creatures, Comforts and Enjoyments, are become minute and small, despicable and contemptible to me, in comparison thereof, being infinitely contained and comprehended therein : Shall my Soul clasp and cling about these mortal and perishing things ? Shall it cleave and be glued to them ? Shall it be confin'd and captivated into what is kept in the narrow bounds of Time, and in this lower VWorld ? Shall it earnestly desire and thirst for muddy Streams,

Streams, yea Rivers of Flesh-pleasing good; when by an Eye of Faith I can look into the Indeficient, Inexhaustible purest Fountain; the Immense, Immenfurate Ocean of Divine Good; hoping to drink thereof, to swim and bathe my Soul therein for ever and ever? And when I consider how long my Ears have been bound up, and tyed to their innumerable and horrid Oaths, and cursed Blasphemies, and mine eyes to see the Profanation of the Day of God; and when I behold such an overflowing Flood of most prodigious Impiety, such an Inundation of most monstrous Iniquity, and so much Hell upon Earth, and that there is so much decay of holy Zeal, and true Piety, and Christian Religion among the Professors of it, such seeming incurable Breaches and Divisions, such expiring Love and Charity and partings among 'em; it hath powerful influence on my Soul to reconcile it more to Death, and makes it electively, and from choice to leave this present World, and to take up my abode in that which is unseen and future, where there shall be nothing but perfect love and holiness; a sinless state, and serving God with all unweariedness, and perfection, with the highest complacency and delight that immortal Souls can be capable of: there is perfect peace and concord, the innumerable Company of Angels, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, all fastned together with indissolvable and uninterrupted Chains of most pure Love, and all continually wrapt up in, and transported with the highest Admiration of God's Love, his infinite and incomprehensible excellencies and perfections, singing Hallelujahs to him without ceasing, and triumphing

phing in his praise for ever and ever. The Consideration also, that I know so little of these sublime, profound, and Divine Mysteries ; of the most glorious Mystery of Salvation by Jesus Christ ; that I am so incapable to fathom the depth of the Providences of God, whose ways are in the Sea, and whose paths are in the deep Waters, and whose footsteps are not known, and particularly in the late stupendious and amazing one ; and that I am so ignorant of the Nature of Angels and Spirits, with their Offices and Operations, and of their high and glorious excellencies ; and that I am so little acquainted with the Nature of my own Soul, as at present dwelling in, and united to my Body, and as disunited and separated from it ; how without Corporal Organs, it shall most vivaciously and vigorously perform all its proper Functions and Offices, and more than ever strongly and indefatigably serve the Lord Jesus, most fervently and abundantly love him, and delight in him, every way much more obtain the supream and highest end of its Creation and Being ; and this makes me much more willing to dye, that I may have the knowledge thereof, with innumerable other things, that I am now either ignorant of, or do but imperfectly know, and so be made happy by a plenitude of fulness of injoying intellectual Pleasures, which are of all other most suitable, sweet and satisfactory to immortal Souls. And also I see that he that departs from Iniquity makes himself a Prey ; and so many plunging themselves into the ways of Iniquity, lest they should be accounted odious and vile, which makes them so much degenerate, not on-

ly from Christianity, but from Humanity it self, as if they were scarce the Excrement of either; condemning even that most Noble, Generous, Heroick Spirit that dwelt in many Heathens, who accounted it most honourable and glorious to contend for their Rights and Liberties, yea, to suffer Death, and the worst of Deaths, in Defence of the same; and judge them accursed and most execrable in the World that do so; and not only so, but, for their own profit and advantage, have many of them enslaved their Posterity by it, and are most industrious and laborious, most fierce and furious to destroy them, whereby they are become as unnatural as Children that seek the ruine of their Parents that begot them and brought them forth; or them that lay violent hands upon themselves, dashing out their own Brains, cutting their own Throats, hanging and drawing themselves, ripping up their own Bellies, tearing out their own Bowels, they being in different senses Children and Members of that Body Politick they design and attempt the Destruction of; and when I know not how long the Duration and Continuance of these things shall be, or a Conclusion or End by God shall be put thereto, who by Divine and Unerring Wisdom governs the World; why shall my Soul be unwilling to take its flight into the unseen and eternal World? where no sullied, sordid or impious thing, most incongruous and unbecoming Nature, shall be seen and found, and where I shall behold no narrow conclusive contracted Soul there, habitually preferring their private before a publick good, but all most unanimously and equally center in one common universal good

and where the sighs, and groans, and cries of the afflicted and persecuted, shall be heard no more for ever.

I earnestly exhort all most highly to prize and value Time, and diligently improve it for Eternity; to be wise, seriously and seasonably to consider of their latter End; for by the irrepealable and irreversible Law of Heaven we must all dye, yet we know not *how, where, or when*. Live with your Souls full of solicitude and care, with a most deep concernedness, and most diligent industriousness, whilst you have time and opportunity, and the means of Grace, Health, and Strength, make sure of these two great things; (*viz.*)

1. What merits for you a Right and Title to Eternal Life and Glory, and the future unchangeable Blessedness, as the Redeemers most precious Blood and Righteousness; that thereby a real Application and Imputation may be unto you by sincere believing. (2.) That that which makes you qualified Subjects for it, is the great work of Regeneration, wrought in your Souls, being renewed in the Spirit of your Minds, the Divine Nature being imprest upon them, repairing of the depraved Image of God in you; that being transformed into his own likeness, thereby in the World you may mind and savour more the things of the Spirit than the things of the Flesh, Celestial and Heavenly more than Terrestrial and Earthly, Superiour more than Inferiour things: And therewith have a holy Life and Conversation conjoyned, that results and springs from the same, as Fruit from the Root, and Acts from the Habits. Let all, in order thereto, seriously consider these few



few Texts of sacred Scripture, let them predominately possess you, let them be deeply and indelibly Transcribed upon your Souls, let them be assimilated thereunto, and made the written Epistles, the lively Pictures thereof. *Matth. 5. 8, 20.* Blessed be the pure in heart, for they shall see God. *Vers. 20.* For I say unto you, except your Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. *John 3. 3.* Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God. *1 Cor. 6. 9, 10, 11.* Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, &c. *Gal. 5. 19, 20, to 23.* Now the works of the Flesh are manifest, which are these, Adultery, &c. *James 1. 18.* Of his own Will begat he us with the Word of Truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of his Creatures. *1 Pet. 1. 3.* Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant Mercy, hath begotten us again to a lively hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. *Vers. 13.* Wherefore gird up the loyns of your Minds, &c. *Colos. 3. 1, 2.* If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things that are above: Set your affections on things above, not, &c. *Gal. 5. 24.* And they that are Christs have crucified the Flesh with the Affections and Lusts, &c. *Eph. 2. 1.* And you hath he quickned, who were dead in trespasses and sins. *Rev. 20. 6.* Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection, on such the second Death hath no power. *Rom. 8. 1.* There is therefore now no Condemnation, &c. *1 Pet. 1. 15.* But as he that hath called you is holy, so be ye, &c. *Vers. 23.* Being born again, not of corruptible Seed, &c. *Psal. 4. 3.* But know that

*the Lord hath set apart him that is godly for himself, &c.* I shall mention now no more, the whole Bible abounds with these Texts, with what a Renovation and Change of our Carnal and Corrupt Hearts and Natures, there must be, with Holiness of Life and Conversation, before we can be capable of a future and blessed Immortality, and of inheriting the Kingdom of God for ever and ever. *Amen.*

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A Letter written by Mr. John Hicks, Octob. 5.  
the day before his Death.

My dear Nephew,

**I** Am yet in the Land of the Living, though in the Mouth of Death; I have been concern'd for you, next to my own Children; before I die, I thought fit to write two or three Lines to you, as a Manifestation of my great Love to you: I earnestly desire the welfare of you here, and to Eternity hereafter, next to my own Wife and Children, you will want me when I am gone; but I hope the Lord will take care of you; make it your business to walk with him, to serve him faithfully; flee youthful Lusts, and Remember your Creator in the days of your Youth; be deeply concern'd to have your Heart and Nature chang'd, and an Interest in Christ secur'd unto you. Death comes suddenly, you know not when, where, nor how you shall die: Let time therefore be most precious to you; fill it up with work and duty; Live by faith more than by sense; and this will stand by you when you come to dye: Seek the things which are above, and set your Affections upon them; have your  
Con-

*Conversation in Heaven, whilst you are upon Earth. When you see your Parents, give my dear Love to them and their Children ; the Lord grant that we may meet in his everlasting Kingdom : When you see any of your Cosins, give my dear Love to them, and be not asham'd of my Sufferings. I wrote last Saturday was a Seven-night to my Brother George, but whether he is at London or Worcester, I know not ; I wrote to him, to desire him to Petition the King, that some Favour and Mercy might be shewed me, if he thought fit. Things that are made to aggravate my Crime, I am clear from ; as that I perswaded the Duke of Monmouth to assume the Title of King at Taunton, when I was not there with him, nor in Thirteen days after he came in- to England ; and that I rode too and fro in the West, to perswade People to go in to his Army, when I was in the East, and came from thence to him in the West ; but my Non-conformity cuts me, and obstructs the King's Mercy from being extended to me, as I am told ; but the Will of the Lord be done ; the Life to come is infinitely better than this : Many more things are laid to my Charge, which I am no more guilty of than your self. If your Uncle be in Town, go speedily to him, and give him my dear Love. I pray for you, who am,*

Your most Affectionate

Octob. 5. 1684.

Uncle,

J. H.

A Letter to his Wife, Sept. 23. 1684.

My dearest Love,

**I** Hope you received a few Lines from me, by the way of London; once more I write to you, by our faithful and trusty Friend W. D. who hath been at Exon. If there be need for it, he knows many of my dear and faithful Friends there, who wish you would come and live among them; and if your Estate fail, I think it very advisably so to do; I hope God will stand by you, and defend you: My Dear, see me in God, as I must you. I must now bid adieu to all Earthly and Worldly Comforts, and all the pleasant and delightful Objects of Sense. I bless God for all present Mercies and Comforts hitherto I have had; what will be after this day, I know not, but the Will of the Lord be done.

My Dear, Be very cautious not to speak one Word, lest it be wrested to a wrong Sense, which may ruine you; I have not writ what I would of this Nature, take the Advice of Friends, and of what I send by our Friend. O let not the Everlasting Arms of God be with-drawn from you one Moment; and let him strengthen you with all Might, according to his glorious Power, and to all Patience and Long-suffering, with Joyfulness! Pray hard for Victory over Passion, and be much in private Closet-Prayer with God; and often read the Holy Bible, and other good Books; the Lord continually guide, direct and counsel you. My Dear, I return you a thousand thanks for all the Love you have shew'd me and my Children, and particularly for the high and great Demonstration you have given hereof in this day of my distress. I hope my Daughters

ters will be as dutiful to you, and be as much concern-  
ed for your comfort and welfare, as if you had tra-  
velled with them, and brought them into the World;  
God bless my dear little Ones and them together, I shall  
dye their most affectionate and praying Father; God I  
hope, will uphold, support, and comfort me at the last  
hour, and enable me to overcome the Temptations I  
shall violently be assaulted with before I dye. God by  
his infinite and freest Mercies in Christ Jesus, pardon  
all the neglect of Relative Duties, (which I have bit-  
terly lamented and bewail'd before God, with all the  
Sins I am guilty of) for the sake of our dearest Lord  
and Redeemer. The Lord make you grow in all Grace  
more than ever, and make this great Affliction so hum-  
bly purifying and spiritualizing to you as well as me,  
that it may work for us both a far more exceeding and  
eternal weight of Glory. Let him take your Soul into  
his most dearest Embraces, and lodge it in the bosom of  
his Love here, and make us to meet in the full and  
everlasting Fruition and Enjoyment of him hereafter.  
Though it be dangerous for you to vindicate that I dye  
for, yet be not too much cast down for it: I will say  
no more as to that. My hearty and affectionate Re-  
spects to all my dear Friends; I need not name them;  
I hope to meet them, with your self, to inherit Eternal  
Life through the Merits of Christ's Death. Farewel  
my Dear, farewell in the Lord, until we meet to be  
married to him for ever. My heart is as full of Love to  
thee, as it was the first day I married thee; and if  
God spar'd my Life, it should have been as fully mani-  
fested until death; therefore I rest,

Your most Affectionate

and Endeared Husband,

Sept. 23. 1684.

J. H.

Another



## Another Letter.

My dearest Love,

**I** Received your Letter by Mr. Skinner ; I bless God that you and my Babes are well ; the Lord continue their Lives to be a Blessing and Comfort to you, and enable you to see them well Educated in the fear of God ; and when God takes me away, let him be a Husband to guide, direct, succour, comfort and support you, and to lodge your Soul in the Bosom of his Love ; and let him be a Father to them, and their Portion for ever. Monday last my Brother went to London to try what could be done for me ; what the success will be, I know not ; I desire the Lord every day to prepare me for Death, and carry me above the Fear of it, by the discoveries of his everlasting Love unto my Soul, and clearing up my Right and Title to everlasting Life ; and by Sealing up to me the Pardon of all my Sins, through the most precious Blood of Jesus Christ. Let us pray hard and much for each other ; when I leave this World, it shall be with Prayer for thee ; if God give me life, how shall I study to be a comfort to thee, and to live up to my Marriage as well as Baptismal Covenant to all my Friends ! Tender my most affectionate Respects ; I hope their Prayers will one way or other be heard for me ; let the Almighty be your Protector, Supporter and Comforter. There be two Books I do recommend to you to read when you are retir'd, as well as in your Family ; Pierce's Preparation for Death, and Fox's Redemption of Time. Now let our Souls meet together in one most Blessed God, in our dearest Jesus, and sweetest Saviour ; let them clasp and cling about him, and be sick for the  
love

love of him ; and that we may meet to enjoy him fully to Eternity, and be satisfied with his Love for ever. A thousand Loves, if I had them, I would send to thee, next to my dearest Lord Jesus, and the things that are heavenly, spiritual and immortal: I love thee : what I can spare for thee, is convey'd to thee and my dear Children, from

Thy most Affectionate and  
Faithful Husband, and their  
most loving Father,  
J. H.

Another Letter.

My most dear Love,

I Hope you have received my last ; once more, as a dead and living man (through difficulty) I write to you, though I yet do not know when or where I shall dye, but expect Death every day ; when that Message is brought to me, I hope, through the Grace and Strength of Christ, it will be no surprize to me ; that neither my Lips, Flesh, nor Heart will tremble when I hear it ; I know the cause for which I suffer ; God hath and has singled me out from many of my Brethren (which I never have been without some apprehensions of for above these twenty years) to lay down my Life ; how far it is for his cause, will be judged at the last day ; I bless God, who hath kept me from all Temptations to Conformity ; though it has brought me to ruine and destruction in this World, it will be no fit Season for you to Vindicate that for which I am call'd to suffer, be silent, and leave it to God ; I advise you to all Prudence in this case : have your own reserv'd thoughts

thoughts, and let them concerning me, support and comfort you; if there never happen a time for you to Glory in my Sufferings, it will be hereafter; do you but walk with God (though through Prudence you must hold your Tongue) and be not asham'd you had such a Husband; I thank God that gave it me, whose Courage and Publick Spirit for the Protestant Religion, the Civil Liberties of his Country, even true English Liberties, hath in this ignominious way, brought me to the Conclusion and End of my time. Mourn not, my Dear, as one without Hope, let the World know you have something from me, something from your self as a Christian, but ten thousand times more from God to comfort and support you; see Christ by an eye of Faith, infinitely more lovely and beautiful than my self; let him be married to your Soul; let him be the chiefest of ten thousand, and more dear and precious to you; it is not long we shall be separated, before we shall see one another in a Spiritual Enjoyment, separated from all Fleshly Pleasures and Delights, yet infinitely more sweet and satisfying to Immortal Spirits, as you and I us'd to see Streams from the Fountain and the largest Streams in the Ocean; so let us see one another in God, the ever-flowing and over-flowing Fountain of all Good, the fathomless and boundless Ocean of Good. Seek much the things which are above; live with your Affections set upon them; and have your Conversation in Heaven whilst you are upon Earth. I continue yet to pray for you, as for my self, and shall continue to do it until I dye; in my last Prayers you shall be interest'd with my dear Babes, whom I hope God will take into Covenant with him, and number them among his Adopted Ones, and of that incorruptible Inheritance which is in Heaven: I hope God will spare your Life to see them

Educated

Educated, and guide and assist you therein, and theirs to be a blessing and comfort to you : Consider your Condition is not single and alone, this Countrey affords a multitude of the like sad and deplorable Instances ; let this make you more to possess your Soul with Patience and Humility, calmly and quietly to submit to the good Will of God. I have left a Paper behind me for you to read, and our Friend can tell with what difficulty I writ it, therefore must have many Defects and Imperfections, which must be over-looked and mended ; preserve the two Bibles for my dear James and Betty : What shall I say more, my Dearest ? I must break off with my Heart full of Love to thee ; and subscribe myself,

Octob. 3.  
1684.

Thy most dear and  
affectionate Hus-  
band till Death,  
J. H.

Captain Abraham Ansley's last Speech.

I am come to pay a debt to Nature ; 'tis a Debt that all must pay, though some after one manner, and some after another : The way that I pay it, may be thought by some few ignominious, but not so by me ; having long since, as a true Englishman, thought it my Duty to venture my Life in defence of the Protestant Religion against Popery and Arbitrary Power : For this same purpose I came from my House to the D. of M's Army : At first I was a Lieutenant, and then a Captain, and I was in all the Action the Foot was engaged in, which I do not repent : For had I a thousand Lives, they should all have been engaged in the same Cause, although

although it has pleased the wise God ( for reasons best known to himself ) to blast our designs ; but he will deliver his People by ways we know nor think not of : I might have saved my Life, if I would have done as some narrow-soul'd Persons have done, by impeaching others ; but I abhor such ways of Deliverance , choosing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy Life with Sin. As to my Religion, I own the way and practice of the Independent Church, and in that Faith I die, depending on the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, for my Eternal Salvation : His Blessing be with you all. Farewel to thee, poor England, Farewel.

Abraham Ansley.

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### Mr. Annesley's Last Letter.

S I R,

I now send you my last Farewel, being going to lay down my Life with joy, and assurance of Life eternal ; for which, blessed be the Holy one of Israel, who never leaves nor forsakes those that put their trust in him, and give you many thanks for your kindness to me, the Lord make it up to you, by pouring upon you a daily Portion of his most Holy Spirit, and deliver you from your Bonds. My Enemies have done what they could to afflict this Body ; but blessed be the most High, who has given me Strength, Patience, and Courage to endure all they can lay upon me . The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Fellowship of his Holy Spirit attend



attend you ; which is the Prayer of your dying Friend,  
but living Brother in Christ Jesus,

From Taunton-Castle,  
Sept. 21. 1685.

Abraham Ansley.

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Mr. Josias Askew's Letter to his Father.

Honoured Father,

I not having an opportunity to make my Gratitude known to you for all your Endeavours for the saving a poor, vain, perishing, and troublesom Life ; and seeing it is all in vain, I would desire you both to acquiesce in the Will of God, and rejoyce with me for this happy day of my departure from this State of Pilgrimage, home to the Possession of those Heavenly Mansions, which my God and Father hath provided for me, in and through my Lord Jesus Christ : It is in him alone I put my Trust and Confidence, and therefore can boldly say, Who is he that condemneth ? It is Christ that dyed, yea rather, that is risen again, and is set down at the right hand of God, making intercession for all those that have a well-grounded Confidence in him. My time is but short, and by reason of Company I am disturbed ; therefore I conclude with my last Breath, begging of God, that he would keep you constant in his Fear, in this day of great temptation, and at last receive you to his Glory, where we shall once more unite, in praising, without interruption or distraction, World without end, Amen. Until which time, the Grace of God the Father, the Love of God the Son, the comfortable Refreshings of God the Holy Ghost, be with you

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*you, all yours, and the whole Israel of God, both now and for ever : Which is the hearty Prayer of your Son,*

Pray remember me to  
all with Joy.

Josias Askew.

*A Letter to his Friend.*

M A D A M,

**Y**OU have been a Partaker with me in my troubles, I would also make you partaker with me in my Joys ; seeing my *Wedding-day* is come, the day of the Bridegroom is at hand, and I am this day to be stript of my Rags of Corruption, to be cloathed upon with the white Robe of his Righteousness and Purity, and to be married to my Husband, and to be given to the Embraces of my Lord Jesus Christ, for ever and ever.

Learn not to repine at the Holy Determination of an infinite wise God, but rest satisfied in his Will, knowing that he doth all things for the best to them that fear him : Weep not for me, who am only changing this World of Temptation, of Troubles and Affliction : It hath pleased God to call me a little before you, but you must soon follow after ; keep therefore the Fear of God before your Eyes, and then you will have cause to rejoyce, and not to mourn ; when at the time of departure, you may have cause to say with me, *I have run my Race, I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith, henceforth is laid up for me a Crown of Glory which fadeth not away ;* which that you may be able to say, is the Hearty Prayer of

*Your Friend and Servant,*

Josias Askew.

*The*

## The Account his Friend gives of him.

**T**O prevent your further trouble in suing for a pardon, I think it convenient to let you know, I do not question, but my dear Cousin hath had his Pardon Sealed by the King of Kings, and is in everlasting Blessedness, singing Hallelujahs, Salvation, Glory and Honour to him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever: For God did so carry him through to drink that bitter Cup with so much Courage and Chearfulness to the last, as was to the Admiration of all Spectators, notwithstanding the terrible Sight he saw at the place of Suffering, and so vehemently, as he was tried by the Adversary, yet it did not in the least discompose him, or alter his Countenance; for he continued with a smiling Countenance to the last, and was transported above measure: I want words to express it, he was like one wrapt up in Heaven, with his Heart there, and his Eyes fixed thereon. I could wish you had been there, it would have driven away all cause of Sorrow from your Heart, to see his Deportment, and hear the Gracious Words that proceeded out of his mouth: He remembreth his Duty to you both, and left Paul's Blessing with you, Grace, Mercy and Peace; his Love to his Dear Sister; he desires her not to be troubled for him, for he hath made his Peace with God, and was assured he should go to eternal Happiness; he would have written more to you and to his Sister, but that he had so short a time after Sentence that he wanted Opportunity; when he went out of Prison, he said, Gentlemen, Now I am going, and it is the time I much longed for; I would not change with him that passeth Sentence upon me, for a World. I was with

him to the last, and seeing his Courage, did very much encourage me, though I never saw such a sight with my Eyes,

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*The Behaviour of John Holway before, and at the place of his Execution at Warham, in the County of Dorset.*

**H**E lived in *Lyme* where the Duke Landed, and Appeared in Arms at that time, until his Captain left him; then took up Arms under the Duke of *Monmouth*, and went with him, until the Kings Proclamation came forth, *That all that would lay down their Arms before some Justice of the Peace, in four days after, and take a Certificate for their so doing, they should be acquitted, and have his Majesties pardon,* which this Person did, though one day too late; which Blot my Lord Chief Justice hit, being very good at it, and passed the Sentence of Death on him. Before his Tryal he was not much concerned at his Case, and thought himself almost out of danger: But to be short, he received his Sentence with much Courage and Resolution, and by the means of one *Mr. Tiller*, who was to suffer with him, was brought to that settled frame of Spirit, as is fit for, one in that condition: As he was riding in the Cart, toward the place of Execution, the Troopers, being just behind the Cart, he told them, *They shewed like brave Fellows; but, said he, If I were to have my Life for fighting the best five of you, I would not question it.* At the place of Execution he said not much, *But that he thought*  
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his and other mens Blood would be revenged one time or other, and said, Forgive me, have Mercy on my poor Soul, pardon all my Sins, and the like, and so the Executioner did his Office.

*The Last Speech and Prayer of Mr. Matthews at the place of Execution.*

**H**E was much concerned the Morning before he dyed, to see his VVife weep, and to be in such a passion for him, which drew Tears from his Eyes; and taking her in his Arms, said, *My Dear, Prithee do not disturb me at this time, but endeavour to submit to the Will of God; and although thy Husband is going from thee, yet I trust God will be all in all unto thee; sure my Dear, you will make my passage into Eternity more troublesom than otherwise, if you thus lament and take on for me; I am very sensible of thy tender love towards me, but would have you consider, that this Separation will be so much for my Advantage, as your Loss cannot parallel. I thank God I am willing to die, and to be with my Jesus; be satisfied, the Will of God must be done: thy Will be done, O God, in Earth as it is in Heaven.* So embracing her, took his last farewell of her, and prepared to go to the place of Execution, where being come, he with a very modest, sober, composed Frame of Spirit stood while he saw several Executed before him; his turn being come, he thus spake:

Dear Countermen, *I suppose We are all of one Kingdom and Nation, and I hope Protestants; O I wonder we should be so cruel and Blood-thirsty one towards another; I have heard it said heretofore, that England*



could never be ruin'd but by her self, which now I fear is a doing. Lord have Mercy on poor England; turn the Hearts of the Inhabitants thereof, cause them to love one another, and to forget one anothers Infirmities. Have mercy, O Lord, on me; Give me strength and patience to fulfil thy Will; Comfort my dear and sorrowful Wife, be a Husband unto her, stand by her in the greatest trouble and affliction; Let her depend upon thy Providence; be merciful to all men; preserve this Nation from Popery; find out yet a way for its deliverance, if it be thy good Will, and give all Men Hearts to be truly thankful; Comfort my fellow-sufferers that are immediately to follow; Give them strength and comfort unto the end: I forgive all the World, even all those that have been the immediate Hastners of my Death: I am in charity with all Men. And now blessed Lord Jesus, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit. Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy Kingdom come, thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven, Give us this day our daily Bread, forgive us our Trespases as we forgive them that trespass against us, and lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil, for thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory, for ever and ever, Amen.

After which going up the Ladder, he desired the Executioner not to be hard to him, who answered, No, and said, I pray Master forgive me: To which he said, I do with my whole Heart, and I pray God forgive thee; but I advise thee to leave off this bloody Trade. The Executioner said, I am forced to do what I do, its against my mind. So lifting up his hands to Heaven, the Executioner did his Office.

*The Behaviour and Dying Words of Mr. Roger Satchel, who was executed at Weymouth in the County of Dorset.*

**T**His Gentleman, at the time of the Dukes landing at *Lyme*, lived at *Culliton*, about five Miles *West* of that Town, and was supposed to be concerned in the design with the Duke. He always was a great Admirer of him, which got him many Enemies among the Gentry of that County: He always hated the name of a Papist; and as it fell out, he did foresee Popery advancing, as his Words to divers of his Neighbours can testify. As for his Disposition, he was of a very generous and Heroick Spirit. But to proceed, No sooner had he the news of the Dukes being landed, but he sets himself to work to serve him, desiring all he knew to joyn with him, and was one of the first that went to him to *Lyme*, and was with him to the end: But after the Rout, travelling to and fro, to secure himself, was at last taken at *Chard* by three *Moss-Troopers*, under no Discipline, who made it their business to ruine their Neighbours in those parts; they are so well known, I need not say any more: He was from thence carry'd to *Ilchester*, and so secured in *Ilchester* Goal; and at the Bloody Assizes at *Dorchester*, took his Tryal, and received his Sentence with the rest: Great application was made for him; but my L. C. Justice *Jeffreys* Ears were deaf, and so was order'd to be executed at *Weymouth*. After Sentence, two of his Friends came to him, and told him, There was no hope.

He answer'd, *My hope is in the Lord.* After which he spent most of his time, before Execution, in Prayer and Meditation, and conferring with many good Persons. The morning being come, he prepared himself, and all the way drawing to Execution was very devout. Being come to the place, there was a Minister, I think, of that place, who sung a Psalm, and prayed with them, and would have some Discourse with this Person, which he avoided as much as possible; but he asked him, *What were his Grounds for joyning in that Rebellion?* who answered, *Had you, Sir, been there, and a Protestant, I believe you would have joyned too; but do not speak to me about that, I am come to die for my sins, not for my Treason against the King, as you call it.* So pointing to the Wood that was to burn his Bowels, he said, *I do not care for that; what matters it what becomes of my Body, so my Soul be at rest.* So praying to himself near half an hour, and advising some he knew never to yield to Popery, he was turned off the Ladder. He was a couragious bold spirited Man, and one of great Reason, Just and punctual in all his business, and one that did much good amongst his Neighbours.

There was at the same time and place one Mr. *Lancaster* executed, whose Courage and Deportment was such, that he out-braved Death, and in a manner challenged it to hurt him, saying, *'I dye for a good Cause, and am going to a gracious God. I desire all your Christian Prayers; 'tis good to go to Heaven with Company. And much more he spake concerning the Duke of Monmouth, whom he supposed at that time to be living; and*  
 so

so praying privately for some small time, he was turned, or rather leaped over the Ladder.

If I mistake not, he said he was born or lived in *Bridport*.

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*The last Speech of Mr. Benjamin Sandford,  
at the place of Execution at Bridport.*

**H**E with Nine more were brought from *Dorchester* to *Bridport* to be Executed. Coming to the place of Execution, he held up his Hands to Heaven, and turning himself to the People, said, *I am an Old Man you see, and I little thought to have ended my days at such a shameful place, and by such an ignominious Death; and indeed it is dreadful to Flesh and Blood, as well as a Reproach to Relations, but it would have been a great deal more, if I had suffered for some Felonious Account.* Says one to him, *Is not this worse do you think than Felony?* He answered, *I know not any thing that I have done so bad as Felony, that this heavy Judgment should fall upon me, except it be for my sins against my God, whom I have highly provok'd, and must acknowledge have deserved ten thousand times more; Lord! I trust thou hast pardoned them; Seal my Pardon in the Blood of my Saviour; Lord look upon, and be with me to the last Moment.*

There was also Executed at the same time one *John Bennet*, a poor Man, but pious and of good Report with his Neighbours in *Lyme* where he lived. I have heard, that when he was on Trial,

a certain Person inform'd his Lordship that the Prisoner, then at the Bar, had Alms of the Parish: And that his Lordship should Reply, *Do not trouble your selves, I will ease the Parish of that trouble.* In Prison, and at the Place of Execution, he behaved himself so to all, that many of his Enemies pitied him, and would, if it had lain in their power, (as they said) have saved him.

His Son being then present, offered to have died for him, and was going up the Ladder, if it might have been suffer'd. He prayed some short time, and so was translated, as we have hopes to think, from this troublesome World into Celestial Joy and Happiness.

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*The behaviour and dying words of Mr. Gatchill  
Executed at Taunton.*

THE said Mr. *Gatchill* was a Constable of the Hundred; he was surprized by a Party of the Dukes, and shewed a Warrant to bring in Provisions and other Necessaries for the use of the Army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatned to have his House burnt; so that he was obliged to do what he did for his own Preservation. But this was not sufficient, for being found Guilty, was Executed. As he was drawn to Execution, he looked on the People, and said, *A populous Town, God bless it.* Just before he was Executed, he spake, *That the Crime he was Accused of, and Condemned for, was High Treason; but he did not*  
know



know himself to be Guilty of it ; and that what he did he was forced to do. And further said, I am so well known to you, that I do verily believe you have Charity to think that what I speak is true. As for the Niceties of the Law, I do not well understand them. And much more to the same Effect he spake. And so after Prayer with his suffering Brother, Mr. Simon Hamling, he was Executed.

There was also Executed at Taunton Mr. Hucker, a very worthy Gentleman of that Town. He had some ill Friends in the Duke's Army, that cast Aspersions on him, as though he was the Person that was a Traytor to the Duke, by firing a Pistol in Sedgmoor ; but I have strictly examined many on that Point, and can find it to be nothing but the worst of an Enemies Malice, to wound him after his Death in his Reputation, which he always valued highly when living. To be short, he has left the Character amongst his Neighbours, of an honest Man, a good Christian, and one that was true to the Interest of the Duke, and Sealed it with his Blood.

Now that which remains, is to give an Account of Hundreds that had fled and hid themselves up and down in Holes and Rocks, whose Friends make all Application to some great Person or other to procure their Pardons ; some to this, some to others, that they thought Favourites with the King ; but the Rewards must be ascertain'd before any Application could be made, (for Pardons were just as they were in Rome) according to the ability of the Person, from half a Crown to sixteen thousand Guinea's ; Any Toorb

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*good Barber.* Divers Lists being sent up, and the Rewards ascertain'd, which amongst many of them put together, did amount to considerable Sums. So that it was now, who could find a Friend to relieve his distressed Relations, which were forced to *wander up and down in Caves and Desarts*, for fear of being taken? But this Misfortune attended the Agents, that unless my Lord Chancellour were used by his Creatures that were allowed by him so to do, other Applications commonly met with Disappointments.

Thus have we given you an Account of what happened in the West (in the Year 85.) being in every Point truth; we shall next give a short touch of the Civilities the poor Sufferers received from the City of *Exon*, which deserves an everlasting Remembrance: Most sorts of Provisions, as hot Broth, boyld Meat, roast Meat, divers sorts of Pies, were daily sent into the Prison; the Persons that sent them unknown to them. Also if any Person was sick, there should be a Nurse to attend him; also a Physician and Chyrurgion to attend, when occasion was. 'Tis said, *He that giveth to the Poor, lendeth to the Lord*; the Lord Return them an hundred fold.

Thus Reader, by the help of God, we are come to an end of our long Journey, from the year 1678. to 1685. The way all along has been full of *dirt and blood*, and therefore no wonder if the Wheels have driven somewhat *heavily*. 'Twill be worth thy while as well as mine, to look back on the different *Stages* we have taken, which is one of the greatest pleasures of a *Traveller*, who finds delight in reflecting even on that which formerly gave him pain and trouble.

trouble. He who first broke the way was Sir *Edmund-bury Godfrey*, according to his own prophesie, *That he should be the first Martyr*. Mr. *Arnold* was like to follow him, but that intended stroke not coming home enough, they resolv'd to lay the Foundation firmer, and so struck lower, and began with *Stephen Colledge* at *Oxford*, who before his death, said, *That it wou'd not stop there*, nor his death satisfie those who thirsted after *Blood*; as appeared plain enough when they had got a *Plot* and *Plotters* to their minds, who made it their business, as *Walcot* tells *Cartwright*, to invite men to their Meetings, to importune 'em to their Meetings, as it appears, to talk madly and treasonably at those Meetings, and because they were a little too brave to do the same by them, after all to deliver 'em up to be hang'd for coming thither. By which design many of the boldest Patrons of their Country and Religion were destroy'd, *Essex* went first, to whose Death an infamy was added greater than that of those who publickly suffer'd. *Russel* follow'd but too closely after him, who says in his Speech, [*He wishes the rage of hot men, and particularly of Furies, might be stop'd with his blood, which he wou'd offer up with much the more joy, if he thought he shou'd be the last were to suffer in such a way.*] About the same time died *Walcot*, and some others. *Col. Sidney* came after, one of the first that ever lost his Head by *Innuendo's*, and who dy'd, as he was told, because else the *Plot* must have dy'd. *Holloway* came next, brought from t<sup>o</sup>ther World to be hang'd in this; whose ingenuous Confession no doubt did his business, there being too many bold *Truths* in't, which some men cou'd not bear, for him ever to expect a Pardon.

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But how many Lies besides there might be in his Confession, or others, 'tis impossible to know, unless we knew, not only whose *Hands* they came through, but how they were there *used*. And as he from *another* World, so *Armstrong* was brought from *another* Country, to be paid for all his Service to the Royal Family, in their Exile and afterwards. And tho' he was not *hang'd* first, and *try'd* afterwards, yet what's much the same, was *hang'd* without ever being *try'd* at all. Next to this we took a view of the Design of that *unfortunate Gentleman* who landed in the West, and of those who embarkt in it, and how far they were justifiable; where follows a *particular* account of some of the most eminent amongst 'em, and a more *general* one of the rest: which tho' it might have perhaps been more accurate, yet 'twas thought better to keep near those loose Papers already publiht on that matter, of which this Book is a sort of a *second Edition*; and to give that account in the same *inartificial* Dress which twas deliver'd in by some honest Country-men, who were personally present at most of the Actions and Sufferings there mention'd. And among all these, nothing is more remarkable than what we have taken particular notice of, The strong Perswasion and *Belief* in which almost all of 'em dy'd, *That God won'd accomplish the great Work of delivering their Country and Religion some other way, tho' he was not pleas'd to accept of their Endeavours.* At the return from the *Western Circuit*, that *London* might have a little sprinkling of their Mercy, the pious and prudent Mr. *Cornish* was sacrificed; all whose time of preparation for that which must be call'd his Trial, was from *Saturday*

*tuesday* to *Monday*, whose courage and constancy at his death, and that *dreadful Storm* which spoke the displeasure of Heaven in such loud Language after 'twas over, were as much the wonder of *England*, as the next and last merited their pity, Poor *Bateman*, who had entirely lost his Reason by his Imprisonment, and the Accidents thereof. But besides all these, and some others, there were some who had *Trials of cruel Mockings and Scourgings*, were expos'd in the *Pillory*, and worse than *whipt to death*, tho' sometimes even that not thought sufficient, without *actual Assassination*.

Upon the intire review of all this dreadful Scene of Blood and Horror, especially that relating to the *Western Affairs*, what can be a more natural and useful *Reflection*, than for us hence to learn, by wounds of our own, yet *green and bleeding*, the true, undissembled kindness of prevailing *Popery*, and *Popish Councils*, and what all *Protestants*, of what character or denomination soever, must expect thence, when *rampant and powerful*? How can we choose but see, unless we have winkt our selves quite blind, that the Hand of the same *Joab* has been in all this? That 'twas the famous D. of *Y.* who was at first as deep in *Godfrey's* Murther, as in the *Fire of London*; the same who was at Helm all along after, and as good as manag'd the Executioners Axes and Halters for so many years. 'Twas he who was so near at *Essex's* murther, and who hindred so carefully my *L. Russel* from his pardon; who was the Staff, the Hope, the *Moses*, the *Gideon* of the *Popish Plot* and Party, and the eager and inveterate Enemy to the very Name of a *true Protestant*. He who shew'd so much Mercy to the poor *West-Country Men, Women* and



and *Children*, destroying so many hundreds in cold Blood, and hardly sparing one man that cou'd *write and read*, by his *L. Chief-hangman Jeffreys*. Lastly, He who was falling upon his own *best Friends*, who are now sensible they lov'd him to a Fault, and carried their Loyalty to such a heighth for his Service, as is now better forgotten, since no Party can *entirely* clear themselves even of that Imputation. He who fell upon them, and our Religion and Laws, and whatever was dear to us, with the greatest and most open violence; and because he cou'd not have his Will, and be a *French King in England*, resolv'd to leave us to the mercy of his own *unkennel'd Irish*, and go to *France* to be there as *absolute* a Slave as he here wou'd have made us. And yet this is the self-same Person whom some are yet so zealous for, and think they han't yet had enough of him.

But whilst these haters of *themselves*, as well as their *Religion* and *Country*, must be left to Man's Justice and God's Vengeance, let's address the Conclusion of these Papers to all true honest men, of good Principles, and firm to the *Protestant Religion*, and perswade 'em to *pray heartily* for *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, and *fight* for 'em as *heartily* too, as all these Martyrs no doubt wou'd gladly have done. If some of 'em shou'd not be entirely satisfied with whatever has happen'd in this great Change, yet to remember at the lowest the *Duty of Subjects*; to think all the *Nation* may see more than they; to pay *Allegiance* where they find *protection*; to reflect on our almost too happy Condition, compar'd with that of *Germany* and *Ireland*, and wherever the *French* and *Popish Arms* and *Councils* prevail; to honour the Memory of these *Martyrs* who suffer'd for their vigorous appearance against 'em; and lastly, to thank God *sincerely* and in *good earnest*, that we may now, if occasion be, defend our *Religion* and *Liberties* with our *Swords*, which they cou'd only do by laying down their *Lives*.

F I N I S.

